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NOTES AND NEWS.

A MEETING of the Court of the University of Manchester, presided over by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford), was held on Wednesday, the 17th of November. THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

The post-war development of the University was dealt with in the annual report of the Council, which was presented by its Chairman, Sir Ernest Simon, who said that the University Grants Committee had asked the Universities to report on their financial needs for the post-war years.

Without anticipating the conclusions of the report of the Committee of Council and Senate on Science and Industry, appointed at that time to examine what developments are needed in our science departments, both in teaching and research, in order that we should be able to fulfil our function as a regional and national university as well as leading universities in other countries, which would be printed early next year (1944), Sir Ernest thought it might be useful to say that his own personal point of view, based upon the information received and the discussions that had taken place, is that with only a moderate increase in the number of students, the science departments will need an income of more than double what they had in pre-war days if they are to be in a position to render the services which are required in teaching and in pure research.

The first problem which the Committee is considering is the question of student numbers, which is clearly the essential basis of any estimate, both of the amount of staff required and of the necessary income.

In England we had, in 1938, one university student in

residence for every thousand of the population. In Scotland one for every five hundred, and in some parts of America one for every hundred. Illinois has probably about ten times as many university students per thousand of the population as Lancashire. What is the optimum size of a university? Should it be doubled? Should we found a number of additional universities and develop far more technical schools approaching university rank? Should we be content with 50,000 university students? Should we increase it very gradually, or should we aim at ten times as many?

The Development Committee will make recommendations to Council and Senate on this very vital matter, so far as the Manchester University is concerned, in the course of the next few months, and will go on to indicate what developments are in its opinion necessary and desirable in the University, and what additional funds for income and capital will be needed to make them possible.

Discussing the national problems, Sir Ernest recalled his own suggestion, largely on the basis of American experience, that it would be necessary to treble the University grant after the war, basing this conclusion largely on the need for more research and teaching in the Sciences. During the last six months public interest in the matter had become exceedingly active, and a number of important reports had been issued. The present outburst of activity is most encouraging, and he could not help feeling confident that after the war there would be a really substantial increase in the funds available for University development.

Bruce Truscot, in his recent book, "Redbrick University," raised many points of interest when discussing the relations between the newer universities and Oxford and Cambridge, in which more and more facilities are being given to Oxford and Cambridge as against other universities. In 1938, 749 State scholarships out of 1065 were awarded to students who went to Oxbridge, and the Oxbridge students always receive a larger grant on the grounds that the cost of living is greater. So that well over three-quarters of the total State money went to help students to go to Oxford and Cambridge; perhaps £100,000 out of a total of £120,000.

The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research grants about 100 research fellowships each year. A large number of these go to Oxford or Cambridge, and they receive a grant nearly double what is given to the fellowships at the other universities.

In spite of the wealth of the colleges, the University Grants Committee gives a larger grant both to Oxford and to Cambridge than it does to any other university.

There would seem to be almost a conspiracy to pour money into Oxford and Cambridge. Truscot urges that instead of two super-universities and a number of inferior regional universities, there ought to be a dozen national universities, and that the aim of the country ought to be to raise them all to the level of Oxford and Cambridge.

I have given two examples of the mass of problems which require solution as regards post-war university development; the question of the total number of students and of the relations between Redbrick University and Oxbridge. There are many other problems equally important and equally difficult to solve. Most of these must be considered on a national scale, and there is no national organization responsible for this kind of planning.

I venture to suggest that the great outburst of university development and activity which is likely to occur after the war makes it necessary that there should be a national planning body to guide and advise the development, and in particular to see that any grants made for capital expansion are made in such a way as to secure the maximum advantage from the national point of view.

All this, of course, can and must be done, without any interference with the complete autonomy of each university to deal with its own internal affairs.

It has been suggested that there should be a Royal Commission on the universities. While this would be desirable, a Royal Commission on so complex and difficult a subject would necessarily take years to report, and it is essential that the universities should have their plans ready the moment that the German war is ended to deal with the great influx of students which is likely then to occur.

In presenting the Treasurer's report, Sir William Clare Lees, after an analysis of the total expenditure in Great Britain and the relative percentage derived from each source of income, said that, taking a broad view over the next ten years, gradually over that period the income of Manchester University ought to be doubled, say, an additional £300,000 per annum.

"In terms of capital expenditure more than £1,000,000 should be provided if we are to be adequately equipped to take our rightful place in the realm of university training. With taxation as it is and is likely to be, it is from an increase in the grants from Government and municipalities that we must look for the main source of these increased funds and revenue. In the long run I have little doubt we shall get what we require. What I fear is lest the official recognition of these needs may lag behind public conscience, which, I believe, is prepared to support university financial requirements to the extent necessary to bring us more into line with other countries."

Both reports were adopted.

The appointment of Lord Woolton, a graduate of the University, as Minister of Reconstruction, was referred to by Sir Ernest Simon, who thought it was the first time a graduate of Manchester University had become a member of a War Cabinet or of any Cabinet. He suggested the Court send a message of congratulation, which the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford) intimated he would send.

The appointment of Professor W. J. Pugh as Deputy Vice-Chancellor was also referred to by Sir Ernest, who said the Vice-Chancellor intended to delegate to Professor Pugh a good deal of his responsibility.

Mr. R. H. Clayton said he proposed to ask Convocation to assist in starting a scheme under which large firms in the district might agree from time to time to place on their staff a graduate who would go abroad for a year to study. The cost to the shareholders would, after taxation, be so small as not to be worth consideration. The graduates chosen would not return to any firm giving the scholarship. To endow a travelling scholarship, Mr. Clayton said, would cost over £10,000.

At the degree ceremony held on Friday, the 17th of December, when most of those presented had graduated in ^{MEDICAL} Medicine, Sir John Stopford spoke of early develop- ^{EDUCATION.} ments that he foresees in education for that profession.

"It is evident to all who are interested in Medicine," said Sir John, "that we are preparing for and rapidly approaching important reforms and developments in medical education which are going to have far-reaching effects. One of these concerns the latter or clinical part of the medical course, where we must make every effort to give the teachers in the clinical subjects the full facilities and the opportunities for teaching and research which are enjoyed by their colleagues who are responsible for the pre-clinical subjects of the course.

"Such very desirable reforms," continued Sir John, "will mean increased expenditure upon professional and technical staff and upon equipment, and, when we are permitted, considerable capital outlay on buildings. Fortunately, pronouncements which have been made by the late Minister of Health encourage us to believe that increased Treasury grants will be available for these purposes ; and the future prospects for medical education in Manchester are enhanced by the excellent relations which exist between the local authorities, the voluntary hospitals, and the University. Each of these has its own important, distinctive, and, in many ways, complementary gifts and contributions to make, and the three are to be regarded as partners in this great and important enterprise.

"To whatever pattern the medical services of the future may conform, I believe it is necessary that the general practitioner should take a more active and responsible part in public health. With this in mind, I would like to say that every medical student in the future will have to undergo a training which fits him for such responsibility. It will be necessary to stress by every means in our power, throughout the pre-clinical as well as the clinical part of the course, that our first duty is to promote and maintain both mental and physical health. This is something more positive than prevention of disease, which takes second place and precedes curative medicine and rehabilitation.

"To secure this, considerable change of emphasis and

modification in the content of the medical course will have to take place ; but I see no insurmountable difficulties, and I look forward to these changes coming about quite early. It is opportune to remember that work, and food, and the home have important effects upon health ; and it is encouraging to see the institution in various parts of the country of departments of child health and of social medicine. I look forward to the day, and hope it is close at hand, when this University will have vigorous departments in these two subjects. They would be of great value to the health services of the region as well as to medical education."

At the degree ceremony in the Whitworth Hall on Saturday, the 22nd of January, at which 195 students were presented, reference was made by the Vice-Chancellor (Sir John Stopford) to the present acute shortage of teachers. TRAINING OF
TEACHERS.

"The need for teachers," said Sir John, "would be measured in tens of thousands, and if, within the next year or two, the profession were inadequate in numbers there would be a real danger that some of the important educational reforms to which we were looking forward so eagerly might be delayed. Consequently there was a heavy responsibility on universities and training colleges. In Manchester, however, they had already taken steps to increase considerably the number of candidates that the University could educate and train for the teaching profession. It was essential that teachers should be of the right character, with suitable personal as well as educational qualifications. They should have vision and the highest ideals."

Remarking that it was the first occasion on which degrees had been conferred in the month of January, the Vice-Chancellor said that this was due to the introduction of the four-term year and the curtailment of the time during which students were permitted to remain at the University. The "speed-up" was, of course, a war-time measure. It was not free from criticism on educational grounds, but the University authorities were convinced that in view of the present special circumstances it was

the right thing to do, although they would be glad to dispense with the fourth term at the earliest possible opportunity.

We regret to have to record the death of Sir Michael Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., Litt.D., LL.D., which occurred on Friday, the 14th of October, 1943, at his home at Old Headington, Oxford, in his 83rd year.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER.

Michael Ernest Sadler, the eldest son of Dr. M. T. Sadler, and a nephew of the famous Conservative reformer, was born at Barnsley on the 3rd July, 1861.

He was educated at Rugby and at Trinity College, Oxford, where, in his second year, he became President of the Union.

In 1883 he succeeded Sir Arthur Acland as Secretary of the Oxford University Committee, and during his tenure of office all the main lines of development of Oxford University Extension work came into being.

In 1886 he became Steward, and in 1890 a Student of Christ Church, but in 1895 he left Oxford to become Director of Special Inquiries and Reports of the Board of Education, a post which he held until 1903. His knowledge of education and of educational methods the world over, and his gift for making constructive suggestions made him the leading authority on the subject from nursery schools to universities.

In 1903 he became Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the Victoria University of Manchester, a post specially created for him. Manchester educationists constantly speak of what he did in the city, and of his vitalizing influence on education. During his eight years of residence in Manchester, although never officially connected with the Rylands Library, he was a firm friend of the institution, and made full use of its resources.

In 1911 he became Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, at that time young and little known, but when he left it twelve years later it had become entwined with the life of the city and with all the educational activities of Yorkshire, and had grown into a great University. His swift willingness to spend himself in every good cause never flagged. His influence on the North of England was very great, and he never forgot his kinship with

Michael Thomas Sadler, the Yorkshire factory reformer, one of the most attractive figures of the revolt against harsh nineteenth-century individualism.

He was made President of the Commission of Calcutta University in 1917, and went to India for eighteen months, and it is easy to discern his hand in the making of the monumental report on Indian education. It was in recognition of his services to Indian education that he was created K.C.S.I. in 1919.

From 1915 to 1922 he was the first Chairman of the Teachers Registration Council, doing his utmost for the teaching profession. It would be impossible to enumerate the educational commissions and committees of which he was not an active member. All forms of education in any part of the world commanded his services, and what he learnt from each he used on behalf of all.

In 1923 Sir Michael was persuaded to return to Oxford as Master of University College, and at once he threw himself into the affairs of his College, of the University, and of the city. He fought and won a great battle in favour of building a new Bodleian on an unrestricted site: The Society of Friends of the Bodleian largely owes its inception to him. So does the Oxford Preservation Trust, for which he worked unwearyingly, drawing town and gown together, since he made it clear that he was as much concerned with the amenities and treasures of the city as of the University. He retired from the Mastership of University College in 1934.

Sir Michael's gifts were in keeping with his crowded career. He was a gifted speaker, but he was at his best and was most inspiring when his audience consisted of a handful of interested persons.

He was gifted with his pencil, and his art developed with the years as he used it for the encouragement of the young movement of English and French painters. He was an ardent collector, and got together a large and valuable collection of pictures from which he gave frequently to the nation and to many other institutions.

Sir Michael was a prodigious worker. His constructive ideas were innumerable. Many are the organizations and schemes which he set on foot to each of which he devoted time

and care. No matter was too trivial for his attention, and he thought no individual unimportant. Many who have done great work owed much of their success to his encouragement.

He was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was married in 1885, was Mary, the daughter of Charles Harvey, and although delicate in health she had for forty-six years taken a keen interest in all his doings, and in his unbounded hospitality. Her death occurred in 1931. Their only son, who survives them, is Michael Sadleir, the well-known writer.

Sir Michael's second wife was Eva Margaret, daughter of the late Mr. E. Gilpin, to whom he was married in 1934. She had been an old and close friend of his first wife. She died in 1940.

We regret to have to record the death of another firm friend of the library, who took a deep interest in its affairs from the time of its inauguration in 1899, and was one of its earliest readers. Francis Sydney Marvin, whose death occurred on Sunday, the 14th of November, 1943, was born in the City of London on 6th August, 1863, and was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and St. John's College, Oxford, where he became Senior Scholar and took a first in both Mods. and Greats, and a second in Modern History.

FRANCIS SYDNEY MARVIN.

He worked for some time in the elementary schools, so that when, in 1890, he became one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, in the Lancashire district, he was familiar with teaching problems from experience. From Lancashire he was transferred to West Cornwall, next to the district covering Cumberland and Westmoreland, and afterwards to West Ham. In 1903 he was appointed Divisional Inspector, and Inspector of Training Colleges in Yorkshire, and in 1914 he was moved to the East Central Division. From 1915 onwards he organized courses and lectures for teachers and others in modern languages, history, and educational science. His final promotion brought him to the grade of Staff Inspector, and he retired in 1924. During the session of 1929-30 he held the Chair of Modern History in the Egyptian University.

Early in the century he produced versions of the "Iliad" and

the "Odyssey." His first notable book was "The Living Past: a Sketch of Western Progress," which appeared in 1913. It was an interesting feat, for in some 250 pages he traced the whole progress of Western Europe from prehistoric times to his own day. The work was reprinted twice during the war of 1914-18 and again in 1920.

Marvin's thought was dominated by the conception of the unity of Western civilization, and he brought out a series of books tending to emphasize that idea. His "Century of Hope" was followed by a number of treatises under his general editorship, in which he assembled excellent teams of specialists. His own later books included "Auguste Comte," and "The New Vision of Man."

Marvin was deeply learned in political history, and in the records of science and philosophy, and his gift of synthesis enabled him to plan a short book in which every sentence was weighty with knowledge and relevance.

The year 1943 marks the five hundredth anniversary of the death of the Founder of All Souls College, Oxford, which is fittingly commemorated by the publication of the Archiepiscopal Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1414 to 1443, who was the founder of All Souls College in 1438, and it is a very happy coincidence that one of its own sons, Dr. Ernest F. Jacob, the present occupant of the Chair of Medieval History in the University of Manchester, one of the outstanding authorities for the ecclesiastical history of the early fifteenth century, should have been responsible for this monumental edition of the Archbishop's Register, of which the second (actually the first) of the series of four volumes makes its timely appearance.

ARCHBISHOP
CHICHELE
AND ALL
SOULS
COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

The present volume is of importance by reason of the learned introduction to the entire work, which covers every aspect of English Church administration during Chichele's long reign. The second volume made its appearance in 1937, in time for the quincentenary celebrations of the founding of All Souls College.

It is a tribute to the "Manchester School of History," which, already, has gained such a deservedly high position in the realm of historical research as to attract students from other universities.

This is due in a large measure to the exertions of a succession of scholars who have built up and made of the history school one of the strongest departments of the University, and one of which the University is justly proud.

It has been our privilege to present to readers of these pages many important studies of medieval and modern history by past and present members of this school, whose names include those of Tout, Tait, Powicke, and Jacob.

At the annual meeting of the National Book Council, held in the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, London, on Tuesday, the 26th of October, the President of the Council, Mr. John Masefield, O.M., Poet Laureate, deplored the European devilry which forbade the free use of books, and sought to put out the intellectual lamps of Europe.

Mr. Masefield said that never before were books more necessary to man, and never perhaps had books been scarcer since the printing press opened through them to man the concept of humanity. Since the beginning of the war 50,000,000 had gone to make munitions. Those were but a portion of the books lost; many had been destroyed by bombs or fire. One could not regret the passing of those volumes into munitions of war, because the war was on, and the war was against just that devilry which forbade the free use of books, and which maintained itself by the perversion of the use of books and by the promulgation of falsehood in every form, a devilry which sought to put out the intellectual lamps of Europe.

It had been claimed for many years before the first of these great wars that there was throughout the world a certain lowering of the conception of life, a certain lessening of the passion for knowledge, a certain tendency in all Governments everywhere to strangle the funds of intellectual research and of scientific discovery. There was also a tendency in many countries to mock

intelligence and the practice of intelligence. That tendency had been greatly increased by the European habits of war. Men remained very much what they always were, yet in every generation some few kindling souls emerged who were able to make a statement and leave a light by which in time generations became a shade better than the generations before. The habit of European war had been to kill those forward kindling spirits. Having killed the kindling spirits of two or three generations of men, Europe tottered on the brink of a dark time which might conceivably be the darkest time the world had ever known.

Looking through the gloom to the future of things, Mr. Masfield said that such a gathering of book-lovers was not possible in any other country in this time. It was a gathering of those pledged to increase books, and that was a most hopeful thing. In this country and in the Dominions there was the germ of that kindling league of nations that might well be the salvation of mankind. While the devils of Europe tried to put back the clock of life 500 or 700 or 1000 years, they welcomed among them one whose slogan it was to put the clock 20, 30, or 40 years on—the headmaster of Harrow.

Mr. R. W. Moore, headmaster of Harrow School, said that not only authors, but publishers and readers, had their obligations to the world, to the society in which they lived. They had an integral part to play in society. It would not be much use trying a levelling in this country after the war—that process to which the White Paper was only a small contribution—if the world of education did not try to pull the greatest weight it possibly could. He asked if we as a nation could afford to do without implicit standards of right conduct and highest values in our books. When he saw the vast spate of low-brow literature turned out constantly from our publishing houses he was tempted to think that Channing was wiser than they thought when he said that books were the monuments of vanished minds. He did not think that we could afford that dead weight at the bottom.

Books were great levellers. There they had access to guidance, and the best creative minds of the day could guide them to it. They should see to it that the levelling that came through books was a levelling up. With regard to children's books, he asked if

we had been careful enough about the matter in books which were liable to be stumbling blocks in the way of children. There should be an increased awareness of the meaning of society and the way it continued through the children from generation to generation. He had been asked if children when leaving school were book-minded. He wanted them to be life-minded, people-minded. He did not wish them to be book-minded in the sense of going first to books for their ideas of life.

If they told him that public school boys did not read enough after leaving school he would deny that, but he would deplore the quality of their reading. The way to alter that was by beginning at school to give the boys and girls access to the very best literature meant for them and for their elders, so that they might become accustomed to it in their formative years. He asked that books be laid open in the primary schools. The public libraries were doing a great work, but if the book were in the school library or, better still, in the form room, they could not get away from it. That was where the magic touch would take effect. We had a lot to be grateful for when we looked round and saw the world of books as it was now and thought of what it might have been in this war. We might be intensely grateful that literature had not been one of the war's tragedies.

The Royal Anthropological Institute, the leading anthropological society in the world, celebrated its centenary on Saturday, the 30th of October, in the morning at Burlington House, and in the afternoon at the Institute in Bedford Square, London.

Field-Marshal Smuts was among those present. The Institute was founded when the study of stones and bronze tools was giving clues about early history, when travellers were bringing back strange implements and ornaments from West Africa and the South Seas, and when the revulsion against slavery was spreading a sense of responsibility for the welfare of non-European peoples under European direction.

When the Institute was founded, a century ago, thousands of men had lately been freed from bodily slavery. To-day finds

millions awaiting liberation from the attempted enslavement of the mind as well as the body. "The proper study of mankind is man," we are told, and the processes by which men convert others of their own kind into chattels, not worth a thought, much less a scientific investigation, must needs for more humane men form a branch of that study. The anthropologist is a student of a specialized kind, who subjects his material to the criteria of scientific reason. Perhaps the greatest of the tasks which will confront constructive minds in the coming phase of history is the restoration of reason to its proper place in the apparatus of thought.

The President, Professor J. H. Hutton, read a message from the King expressing his "appreciation of the valuable work which the Institute has carried on for many years, and his best wishes for its fruitful progress in the years to come."

Professor Hutton said there would be a great deal for anthropologists to do when peace came. The present distresses and confusion of the world were due in great degree to ignorance, prejudice, and misunderstanding, and to the deliberate perversions of truth which were thereby made possible. In the building of a better world, in which understanding and tolerance could spring only from knowledge, anthropology—the science of the study of man—had a great part to play. A substantial sum would be available to promote training and research under a bequest from Mr. Emslie John Horniman to found an anthropological scholarship.

"A century of our work" was described in a paper by Professor Sir John Myers, showing the Institute's origin in the foundation of the Ethnological Society on 30th October, 1843, and its amalgamation with the Anthropological Society in 1871, thanks largely to the tact and foresight of Huxley and Beddoe, with Sir John Lubbock, afterwards Lord Avebury, as first president.

Lord Hailey discussed the rôle of anthropology in colonial development, and said British colonial policy owed the doctrine of trusteeship to the same humanitarian movement as had secured the abolition of slavery when the Ethnological Society was founded. They might well feel to-day that this doctrine

needed a more constructive interpretation ; but there was no doubt of the influence it had exercised both on our policy and in the formation of international opinion.

Lord Hailey defined three stages in the development of dependencies—first, the introduction of law and order and the provision of rudimentary services ; secondly, the stage in which the more essential requirements had been met and the problem was to assist indigenous communities to advance their social life and better their standards of living ; thirdly, the stage when the progress made in social life was judged to have afforded an adequate foundation for political advance.

In the first stage colonial administration would have gained much if they had possessed a fuller knowledge of the customs of the people and their traditional institutions. Lack of this kind of knowledge had been responsible for many administrative errors. But these must be distinguished from errors due to a more fundamental cause—namely, the failure to appreciate the place which indigenous institutions and those of European civilization respectively must occupy in building the future life of those communities.

The majority of the colonies had now passed beyond the first stage, and had reached that in which the extension of Social services and all that tended to the betterment of the standards of life had become of urgent concern. The Colonial Office itself was no longer concerned mainly in safeguarding law and order in the dependencies ; it had become a Ministry of Health, Agriculture, Transport, Labour—all the services which in our domestic life fulfilled the conception of the State as the guardian of standards of life and the primary agency for promoting nation-building activities.

Many colonial administrations had realized that indirect rule demanded an intensive study of native institutions, and that study of this type required the special technique of the anthropologist. The interest of colonial research workers demanded that the pursuit of their studies should be placed on a more secure basis, and that these studies should be encouraged in our universities.

We welcome the reappearance of *Africa*, the quarterly journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, which is resuming its normal functions after a suspension extending over four years.

AFRICAN
LANGUAGES
AND
CULTURES.

The first issue is devoted to a discussion of various aspects of indigenous arts and industries, their development in modern industrial and economic conditions and some of the problems likely to arise in the course of such development.

The future well-being of African peoples largely depends on the successful solution of these problems. It is therefore of great importance that they should be carefully considered from all points of view, both by Africans and Europeans, and to this end it is hoped that articles appearing in this issue will stimulate thought and discussion in these matters.

In the course of an address by H. V. Meyerowitz, which is reported in this issue, it is pointed out how much those who are engaged in studying these problems in Africa could learn from the experience of people who are in touch with similar or related developments elsewhere, and it is for that reason that notes and articles have been included about the development of native arts and industries in Russia, Poland, China, India, Palestine, and the United States of America.

The present issue includes : "Arts and Crafts of Nigeria, their past and future," by K. C. Murray ; "Some Problems involved in the Secondary Industries of West Africa," by W. R. Stopford ; "Study of Chronology of African Plastic Art," by F. M. O. ; "The Revival of Popular Art in Poland," by A. Plutynski ; "Handicrafts in the Soviet Union," by G. D. R. Phillips. A very valuable feature of the journal is "Notes and News."

In a letter to the Editor of *The Times* which appeared on the 1st of November, the President of the Historical Association wisely directs attention to the necessity for the careful scrutiny of all material, whether manuscript or printed, which may be offered for salvage in response to the appeals on behalf of the so-called "book-drives" which are being organized up and down the country.

HISTORICAL
RECORDS AND
SALVAGE.

The advice is so timely that we venture to reprint Mr. Turberville's letter, and in doing so we take the opportunity of reminding readers that the Rylands Library is the repository appointed by the Master of the Rolls for the custody of Manor Court Rolls and other documents relating to the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire.

Sir,—The recent book recovery drive is now, we are told, to be followed by another. By means of the scrutiny system, many thousands of useful and readable books have been sent to the forces or to the appropriate libraries, in addition to the huge quantity surrendered for repulping. Unfortunately, the four categories into which books are sorted for the purpose of scrutiny do not seem to be adequate for the purpose, and there is reason to fear that a considerable amount of material of historical interest is being automatically consigned to category 4—"remainder for salvage"—just because it does not come under one of the other three categories, with grievous consequences.

Experience shows that much manuscript material of great value for local, social, and economic history—such as diaries, minute-books, accounts and registers of local clubs and societies, old school log books, important parish records, and ancient records of firms and professional men—has been discarded for "salvage" along with printed books.

It is most unfortunate that the present revival of interest in local history (which is, after all, the national history in detail) should synchronize with such a great destruction of the sources as has undoubtedly taken place in recent years. Is it not time that those in authority should take immediate and active steps to prevent further destruction, as they have done so successfully and with such strong public approval in the case of the printed book? At the least, all those who still have cupboards and attics to turn out should be strongly recommended to avail themselves of the help of the advisers (as to the historical value, if any, of manuscript material offered for salvage) who have been appointed in every county by the British Records Association. Their addresses may be had from Miss Stokes, Records

Preservation Section, British Records Association, 8 New Square,
Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 2.

Your obedient servant,

A. S. TURBERVILLE,

President, the Historical Association.

The 8th of December, 1943, marked the tercentenary of the death of John Pym, the first leader of the Puritan JOHN PYM. Revolution. He was one of the greatest of English public men, whose private life was as obscure as that of the most ordinary man, but there is no man whose name stands higher in the annals of Parliament. He it was who made and led the party which saved Parliament.

We do not know for certain what he looked like, only that he was "of pleasant countenance and sweet behaviour," but we do know that he developed into a great House of Commons man.

At his death we know that he received a public funeral, was buried in Westminster Abbey, whence his body was ejected at the time of the Restoration, and that Parliament voted £10,000 to pay his debts and provide for his family.

When Charles called the Long Parliament Pym was recognized as its leader, and he set about saving the national liberties and the national religion. The powers of Parliament, he asserted to those who would have destroyed them, "are to the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul to a man."

The English party system was long in development, but Pym's management of the Long Parliament in its five years was a political model. Pym and his friends were but a small handful, but they made themselves into the engine which moved all the rest, and in the end converted or reduced the whole body to their opinions. What gave him his ascendancy in a House without party was his Parliamentary experience, his deep attachment to law and precedent, his sober oratory, and his strong practical sense, for he was always a man of business.

"In an age full of men of great character," as a writer in the *Manchester Guardian* has said, "Pym stands out, and it may be said that never has there been a better Parliament man."

In an age of corruption Pym never took a bribe or accepted position against his principles. He refused the King's offer of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer because he suspected that it was merely a move to save Strafford's life, and it was Pym's belief that the national liberties and religion and Strafford could not exist together in the State.

In a communication which Lord Macmillan, Chairman of the History of Parliament Trust, has made to the Editor of *The Times*, we learn that the Trustees to whom, in 1940, was entrusted the task of carrying on the project of the History of Parliament, have reluctantly come to the conclusion that they must for the time being suspend the further progress of this work. The recent death of Lord Wedgwood, who was the original moving spirit of the enterprise, the present difficulties of conducting research owing to the dispersal of records to inaccessible places of safety, the diminution of staff by the calls of war service, the desirability of conserving the remaining resources of the fund, and the war-time impediments to publication are the reasons which have satisfied the Trustees of the expediency of this decision.

Meantime they have been fortunate in obtaining the co-operation of Professor F. M. Stenton, President of the Royal Historical Society, who has agreed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Lord Wedgwood. He has kindly undertaken to afford advice and assistance as to the lines on which the work should proceed on its resumption after the war, when it is hoped that the necessary funds will be obtainable.

The Trustees feel that it is due to those who have in the past supported the scheme, and whose help may again be invoked in the future, to give this explanation of their present action.

We welcome the announcement of the formation of the Virgil Society, the purpose of which is described in the following letter, and we venture to hope that it will receive the support for which it asks :

"The purpose of the Virgil Society is to bring together those men and women everywhere who are united in cherishing the

HISTORY OF
PARLIAMENT.

THE VIRGIL
SOCIETY.

central educational tradition of Western Europe. Among such persons the love of the poetry of Virgil is most likely to be found ; and for such persons he is the fitting symbol of that tradition. Virgil is the poet who has been most studied and loved, uninterruptedly through the centuries which divide him from our own ; he is the witness to the continuity of our civilization ; among Roman poets he is the one whose work has always been the most appropriate within the Christian educational frame.

“ He is not only the symbol of continuous tradition : he himself, as a poet, was engaged in the very activity which this society aims to undertake. He sought to bring home to the Romans of his day that they were the heirs of a great tradition ; that a people with a great past is a people with great responsibilities which should look to a great future ; and he saw that the time of Rome’s imperial activity was also a time of growing corruption of morals and manners at the centre, which threatened to vitiate the Roman character and policy. He sought to remind his fellow-countrymen of their pristine virtues, and to recall the urban population to the love of the land as the nursery of Roman strength.

“ The Virgil Society already includes in its company leading Virgilian scholars both in and outside the academic world. But its main appeal is not to the professional student ; it is to all who are anxious to preserve the educational tradition which the study of Virgil represents, to respect special knowledge and competence, and to honour quality rather than numbers : these concerns are essential to our purpose. Those who share the convictions and aims of the society, even though they have little or no Latin and have never experienced the great music of the Latin verse, should be among our members.

“ It is our intention that the society shall have branches throughout the country, with local secretaries, united through the general secretary. Members of these local branches will then have the opportunity of hearing from time to time addresses and papers in support of the ideas which the society has been founded to uphold. We believe that these local branches will, in varying degrees of strength and numbers, play an important part in the intellectual life of the country, in reversing the

present descent to vulgarization of taste and debasement of standards.

"Full particulars of membership of the Virgil Society may be obtained from either of the hon. secretaries—Mr. W. F. J. Knight, University College of the South-West, Exeter, or Mr. Wilfred Woollen, 6 Egerton Gardens, Ealing, London, W. 13.

Yours, etc.,

H. E. BUTLER, T. S. ELIOT, J. W. MACKAIL, MONCRIEFF,
R. W. MOORE, V. SACKVILLE-WEST, R. SPEAIGHT."

Such rapid progress has been made in the Russian educational system of late, that it has led the educational authorities of the U.S.S.R. to establish in Moscow a new academy of pedagogical science, under the presidency of M. Vladimir Potemkin, the People's Commissar for Education.

REFORMS IN
THE RUSSIAN
EDUCATIONAL
SYSTEM.

The most notable of these recent developments in the educational field are the provision of separate schools for boys and girls in urban districts, the appointment of military experts, to conduct drill and pre-conscription classes, the drive to improve the teaching of Russian history and foreign languages, and the launching of a resolute campaign to improve discipline and conduct.

Co-education, introduced in 1918, has played an important part in the development of Soviet schools. More than half the pupils in schools and universities last year were girls. But it is pointed out that co-education makes it impossible to allow for the different physical development of pupils, handicapping their preparation for practical work and military activities. During nine months of experiment in the Moscow area, the Soviet educational authorities are satisfied that, as a result of separating boys from girls, the pupils became better organized and more homogeneous in their interests. It is intended in 1944 to adopt different curricula for boys and girls, and that secondary education for boys shall specialize in technical subjects, so that, in the words of one authority, on leaving school they will know how to repair simple electrical apparatus or household articles, and read a map, while girls will receive special training in handicrafts, domestic

science, and the care of children. The new programmes are also expected to pay more attention to Russian history and classical literature.

It is emphasized here that the new measures are in no way intended to create a barrier between the sexes, and school activities which form an important feature of Soviet education will continue to be run on mixed lines. It should be remembered that the war interrupted a vast national building programme, and that in the future Russian women will find in improved homes a wider scope for domestic accomplishments.

Although the trend towards militarization in Soviet schools is designed to give children a real military education, the time spent on such training, even in highest forms, is relatively short, two hours weekly being the maximum allowance. Children until they are 13 continue to do physical drill. Thereafter, girls for two years study first-aid and hygiene during one hour weekly, then specialize in radio-telephony and first-aid. Boys start pre-conscription military training at 16.

The campaign for stricter discipline is being conducted in earnest. M. Potemkin, Commissar for Education, reported recently : " Much remains to be done in this field. The slightest signs of rudeness or disrespect towards elders and teachers must be firmly dealt with. There is still a reluctance to adopt a strong attitude towards laziness and hooliganism." *Izvestia* considered the problem of discipline the most acute with which the Soviet authorities are faced.

The function of modern Soviet education was summed up recently as the creation of a courageous and purposeful people, devoted to their fatherland, who put the people's interest before all else, who knew how to work, love work, and are disciplined in the broadest sense of the word.

We have just received from M. Rudomino, the Director of the State Central Library of Foreign Literature, c/o the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Moscow, an annotated list of the " Best known English and American authors," with the object of giving us an idea of how much is being done to popularize the works of English and American writers in Russia.

RUSSIA'S
APPEAL FOR
ENGLISH
AND
AMERICAN
LITERATURE.

The aim of the list is to satisfy the ever-increasing interest of thousands of their readers in English and American authors whose fame has spread far beyond their own countries. Brief descriptions are given of the writings of each author in order to direct the attention of readers to those works which should be read first. The list also indicates which of these works have been translated into Russian, and calls attention to interesting articles in Russian about them.

The main task of the State Central Library is to popularize the literature of the Western countries. With that object, the library issues lists containing bibliographical material and short bulletins in connection with the anniversaries of various writers. These bulletins, either type-written or mimeographed, are sent out to the libraries throughout the Soviet Union which have departments of foreign literature.

An exhibition which was organized last September of "The Best Representatives of English literature," was particularly successful, we are told. It displayed books starting with such early literary works as Chaucer's "Canterbury Tales," and ending with the writings of contemporary English authors.

Lectures on Western literature are given in both Russian and foreign languages, chiefly in English.

The popularization of the study of foreign languages is one of the important features of the work of the library. Qualified teachers of languages give systematic help to readers who are studying English either individually or in groups, using the linguaphone when necessary. This work is carried out not only in the Central Library, but also in its affiliated branches in factories, military hospitals, and parks of culture and rest in the capital. There are many readers who, starting in the library with the ABC of the English language, are now able to read Shakespeare in the original.

All this help is given free of charge, and among the readers are teachers of foreign languages, philologists, writers, translators, as well as workers, who are anxious to master the English language.

The contents of the library comprises about 300,000 volumes in 27 languages, of which books in English comprise a large

percentage, dealing with the literature and language of the country.

The demand for English and American literature is very great, we are told, and day by day it increases, especially at the present moment, when the countries of the U.S.S.R. are struggling together against the Fascist aggressors.

Our Allies would be grateful not only for copies of our own publications, but also for any other books of which we have duplicate copies. The interest of the Soviet readers in English literature is increasing day by day, and as they are unable to satisfy the growing demand, especially since in war-time they are devoting a great deal of attention to hospitals, they appeal for our co-operation.

The appeal ends on the note that by establishing closer contact between our institutions we can serve the cause of closer cultural relations between our two great countries. It is needless for us to say that we are in complete agreement with that aim, and will do everything within our power to bring it to fruition.

Mr. Wilfred T. Castle, in his recently published work, "Grand Turk," has traced the lineage of the political and social structure of the Turkey of to-day, ^{TURKEY OF TO-DAY.} and has shown that the roots lie in the character of the Turkish race. Many people are astonished and puzzled by the apparent anomaly of a decrepit Oriental aristocracy transforming itself almost over-night into a modern progressive Republic on a popular basis.

This means not imitative Westernization, but that forces latent all along in the Turkish character have been released and are fanning out, under the Kemalist Republic, into a tide.

This is a concise but comprehensive study of modern Turkey. The romantic and picturesque factors have not been ignored, but the historic factors have been given due prominence.

Turkey has been a restraining influence during these years of war, for her observation of strict neutrality has stopped Germany from penetrating to the East. The maps and illustrations add considerable interest and value to the volume.

Mr. Blackwell is to be congratulated upon the publication of Professor Victor Ehrenberg's book, "The People of Aristophanes," which gives a fresh outlook on ^{ANCIENT ATHENS.} life in ancient Athens. The culture and arts are familiar ground, but the writer confines himself to the social and economic life as revealed in the "Comedies."

There are chapters on the farmers, the upper classes, traders and craftsmen, citizens and foreigners, and the slaves, while the family, neighbours, money, property, religion, education, war and peace, all receive careful consideration in this comprehensive survey.

In the time of Aristophanes the people of Athens developed on the economic side. The characteristics of the Greek people some two thousand years ago are clearly described. Not only is the work scholarly, but it is lucid, and entertaining as well as informative.

This is an important contribution to the study of Ancient Athens. The author was Professor of Ancient History at the University of Prague, and is now at the University of Durham.

The year 1943 marks the centenary of the foundation of the famous publishing house of Macmillan, which takes rank with those other houses of repute, such ^{THE HOUSE OF} as Longmans and Murray, whose imprint is a safe-guard to those of us whose duty it is to select representative works for the equipment of the shelves of our great national libraries. The Macmillans have ever taken a high view of their calling, with the result that authors whose writings have been published by them have taken a prominent place in the history of our literature.

The books they issued include such masterpieces as: "Westward Ho!" "The Golden Treasury," Green's "Short History of the English People," Matthew Arnold's "Essays on Criticism," Lewis Carroll's "Alice in Wonderland," Frazer's "Golden Bough," and, what is perhaps the greatest biography of the century, John Morley's "Life of Gladstone," to mention only a few of the most famous of them.

Mr. Charles Morgan, the novelist, has written a most

fascinating story of the great books which have been published with the imprint of "Macmillan," not the least interesting of which was Morley's "Gladstone," of which within seven months of its publication 25,041 copies had been called for to satisfy a clamorous and insatiable public. Mr. Morgan's book is replete with information and suggestion, with glimpses of famous men of letters of the Victorian Age, and should find a permanent place upon the shelves of every library worthy of the name.

Another centenary which was commemorated in 1943, was that of the publishing house of B. T. Batsford, A BATSFORD CENTURY. Limited, which forms the subject of a most attractive illustrated history of the firm, under the title: "A Batsford Century," edited by Hector Bolitho.

The Batsford shops in Holborn, and later in North Audley Street, have been a source of delight to book-lovers throughout the century.

Like the Macmillans, the Batsfords were booksellers before they were publishers.

This is the history of modest people who, by the exercise of persistent endeavour, developed the little shop from small beginnings into a publishing house which has climbed step by step to the position of distinction in the publishing world, which it occupies to-day.

They have possessed the genius of finding the men with special gifts who met their needs and assisted them to develop and find new outlets for their talent in building up this remarkable business.

In the final chapter we have an interesting story of the beginnings of the trade in English architectural publishing. This is very appropriate, for the Batsfords devoted much of their book-making to the literature of architecture, and to the production of finely illustrated books, which have helped to spread a knowledge of the history of the past, and an appreciation of fine books, many of them made doubly attractive by means of their exquisitely coloured plates.

How true it is to say that the generation that is growing up will never know the joy of our youth in the great city, but they

can capture some of it if they will follow the editor and Mr. Harry Batsford and the other writers who have conspired to produce this fascinating book of memories.

The writer has read the volume in a quiver of delight, covetous of the talents of the men who have made and built up this great business.

This record should find a place by the side of the Macmillan volume in every reference library.

A short series of afternoon lectures has been arranged for the session commencing with the 13th of October, and extending to the 12th of April, 1944, as follows : RYLANDS
PUBLIC
LECTURES.

Wednesday, 13th October, 1943. "The Harvest of Browning's Wisdom: The Ring and the Book." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 10th November, 1943. "The Medieval Parsonage and its Occupants." By the Rev. John R. H. Moorman, B.D., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Wednesday, 8th December, 1943. "The Place of Small States in the Political and Cultural History of Ancient Mesopotamia." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Special Lecturer in Semitic Languages in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th January, 1944. "The Life of Jesus: a Survey of the Available Sources. (2) The Foundation of Synoptic Tradition." By T. W. Manson, Litt.D., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 9th February, 1944. "The English University Student in the Later Middle Ages." By E. F. Jacob, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Medieval History in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 8th March, 1944. "What is Mental Maturity?" By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc., Professor of Psychology in the University of Manchester.

Wednesday, 12th April, 1944. "Story-telling in the Old Testament." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester.

The following is a list of recent publications, consisting of articles which have appeared in preceding issues of the BULLETIN :

RECENT
RYLANDS
PUBLICA-
TIONS.

- "A New Signature of Shakespeare?" By J. Quincy Adams, Litt.D., Ph.D., Director of the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library, Washington. 8vo, pp. 4. Price 1s. net. With facsimile of the signature.
- "What Ancient Greece Means to the Modern Greek." By Thanassis Aghnides, Greek Ambassador at the Court of St. James's. 8vo, pp. 12. Price 1s. net.
- "Browning as Poet of Religion." By H. B. Charlton, M.A., Professor of English Literature in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 40. Price 1s. 6d. net.
- "Food of the Gods in Ancient Sumer." By T. Fish, Ph.D., Lecturer in Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 16. Price 1s. 6d. net.
- "The Life of Jesus: a Study of the Available Materials." By T. W. Manson, D.D., D.Litt., Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 16. Price 1s. 6d. net.
- "Early Franciscan Art and Literature." By John R. H. Moorman, B.D., Emmanuel College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. 21. Price 1s. 6d. net.
- "The Riddle of the Torah: Suggesting a Solution." By Edward Robertson, D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Manchester. 8vo, pp. 25. Price 1s. 6d. net.
- "The Council and the Crisis of 1233-34." By Bertie Wilkinson, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Toronto. 8vo, pp. 10. Price 1s. 6d. net.

The following is a list of the benefactors to the Library since the publication of our last issue, to each of whom we renew our thanks for their valued gifts.

GIFTS TO
THE
LIBRARY.

The following gifts call for special notice :

Mrs. R. G. MOULTON has presented a collection of books, in honour of her late husband, Dr. RICHARD GREEN MOULTON, for

many years Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation in the University of Chicago, who, year by year upon his return home to this country, delivered in the Rylands Library a series of Interpretations of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Browning, World Literature, and the Literary History of the Bible, which were eagerly awaited and followed by enthusiastic audiences.

Mrs. Moulton's gift comprises nearly 700 volumes, the majority of which are most welcome additions to our shelves, consisting largely of English translations of classical and national literatures and studies of comparative literature.

The residue, consisting of works of which copies are already upon our shelves, with the approval of Mrs. Moulton, will be offered to the Library of the University of Manchester, and will also be employed for the assistance of blitzed libraries.

Another very welcome bequest was made under the will of the Reverend J. N. LIBBEY, for many years Principal of the Moravian College at Fairfield, Manchester, who took considerable interest in the Library.

The bequest consists of all his papers, books, and other documents, relating principally to the "Unitas Fratrum" or Moravian Church, its history, teaching, or organization and worship, also books relating to the history and practice of religion, or to other branches of the Christian Church.

The collection comprises upwards of a thousand items, many of which are probably of great interest and rarity.

The Reverend H. McLACHLAN, Principal of the Unitarian College, Manchester, has deposited in the Library a large collection of original letters and other documents, including the Nicholson Papers, relating to the College, numbering several thousand items.

Other donors have made gifts in recognition of many happy hours spent in the Library. Such a gift was made by Mr. R. C. JARVIS, consisting of works in philosophy and ethics, for which we are most grateful.

An unusual, but none the less most acceptable and graceful gift was made by Mrs. EVELYN YOUNG, who has happy memories of help and encouragement during her student days of twenty years ago. It took the form of a cheque for £10, to purchase

any book of which the Library may be in need, for which, it is needless to add, we are most grateful.

Miss PATON has presented a very beautiful little "Horæ beatæ Virginis Mariæ," on vellum, written in France in the middle of the fourteenth century, which was formerly in the possession of the Baroness Burdett Coutts.

(The figures within brackets denote the number of volumes included in the gifts.)

The Rev. E. N. Abbott [1].

Dr. Joseph Quincy Adams [1].

G. H. Ashworth, Esq. [1].

The Rev. Maurice Bevenot,
S.J. [1].

F. Buckley, Esq. [8].

E. F. Chaney, Esq. [1].

The Archdeacon of Chester,
[66].

F. H. Cripps-Day, Esq. [5].

J. H. Evans, Esq. [1].

Miss H. Farquhar [1].

Miss Fanny Goldstein [6].

Professor Jacob Hammer [3].

The Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, C.H.
[1].

Professor E. F. Jacob [1].

R. C. Jarvis, Esq. [27].

Edward D. Johnson, Esq. [2].

Mrs. M. Jones [10].

The Rev. S. Levy [1].

The Librarian [33].

The Rev. Dr. H. McLachlan
[2].

F. F. Madan, Esq. [10].

G. R. F. Prowse, Esq. [1].

C. Sfeir, Esq. [1].

A. Sidebottom, Esq. [1].

Derek Spence, Esq. [3].

The Right Hon. The Earl of
Stamford [1].

From the following institutions many interesting publications have been received :

Aberdeen : The University [1].

Aberystwyth : The National Library of Wales [1].

American Philosophical Association [1].

Canada : Public Archives [1].

Cornell University Library [1].

Dublin : National University of Ireland [1].

Duke University Library [1].

Illinois : The University [3].

Kansas Academy of Science [1].

London : The British Optical Association [1].

London : The High Commissioner for India [2].

London : The Estonian Legation [1].

- London : The Greek Ministry of Information [1].
 London : The Latvian Legation [1].
 London : The Pilgrim Trust [1].
 London : Victoria and Albert Museum [1].
 Manchester : Association for Masonic Research [1].
 Manchester : The Manchester Geographical Society [1].
 Manchester : The University [1].
 Michigan University [3].
 Michigan : The Library of William L. Clements [1].
 Oregon : The University [1].
 Oxford : The Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial [1].
 Philadelphia : The University of Pennsylvania [1].
 Reading : The University [1].
 Washington : The Library of Congress [1].
 Washington : The National Archives [1].
 Washington : The Smithsonian Institution [2].
 Washington : The University [1].

The following titles represent a selection of the works added to the shelves of the Library since the publication of our last issue :

GENERAL
ACCESSIONS
TO THE
LIBRARY.

ART AND BIBLIOGRAPHY : BEADNELL (C. M.), "An encyclopædic dictionary of science and war," 8vo ; HARRISON (F.), "A book about books," 8vo ; LADY LEVER ART GALLERY, "A Record of the Collections : (1) Paintings, drawings and sculptures, (2) Chinese porcelain and Wedgewood pottery, (3) English furniture, needlework and tapestry, with introductory essays," 3 vols., 4to ; PICKFORD (R. W.), "The psychology of cultural change in painting," 8vo ; VIOLA (Wilhelm), "Child art with illustrations (the story of the work of Franz Cizek on the significance of child art)," 8vo ; SHREWSBURY SCHOOL, "Catalogue raisonné of the Library Bindings, by J. B. Oldham and P. W. Pilcher," 4to ; WALKER (J. W. and M. I.), "The church plate of Berkshire," 8vo.

HISTORY AND ARCHÆOLOGY : ABBOTT (Wilbur C.), "Essays in modern English history (dedicated by his former pupils at Yale, Harvard and Radcliffe)," 8vo ; ARBERRY (A. F.) and LANDAU (Rom), "Islam To-day," 8vo ; ASPINALL-OGLANDER (C.),

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POETRY AND TRUTH.¹

AN ASPECT OF BROWNING'S *THE RING AND THE BOOK*.

By H. B. CHARLTON, M.A.,

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IN 1937, giving the first of what has become a series of lectures on Browning, I took as its topic 'The Poet's Aim'. In it, I sought to define Browning's sense of the place of poetry in life, and in particular his conviction of the poet's share in enlarging the fulness of man's spiritual experience. In later lectures we have watched him exercising his own poetic endowment as an inspired gift to be used for the exploration of the ways of men with men, and, above all, of the search of man for God. He practised poetry throughout his life in the belief that, for him

it is the glory and good of Art
That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth :

he deliberately alleged this principle as the particular purpose and the final test of his longest work, *The Ring and the Book*.

The object of this lecture is to see how far the poem fulfils the declared purpose and to what extent it is to be properly measured by its proposed test.

The Ring and the Book, published in 1868-69 in four volumes, is a poem of over twenty thousand lines divided into twelve books. It tells the tale of a Roman murder-case which came to trial in 1698. Browning's knowledge of it was mainly based on an old book of legal pleadings, which he picked up by chance from a stall in the market place at Florence, the so-called 'Old Yellow Book'.² This is the tale which it tells. The account is taken straight from a speech in the trial.³

¹ Based on a lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 13th of October, 1943.

² Reprinted in translation (together with a slighter document, the so-called Secondary Source, known to Browning and used by him, and a third brief account of the same case discovered after Browning's death) in the Everyman Library, *The Old Yellow Book*.

³ As given by a lawyer in the case, Francesco Gambi, procurator of the Fisc (who led for the prosecution), *O.Y.B.*, pp. 65-67.

‘ Guido Franceschini of the city of Arezzo, married Francesca [Pompilia] Comparini, for whom, by Pietro and Violante Comparini, there were promised as dowry, among other matters, certain properties subject to a reversionary interest. For they had brought this same Francesca up in their home as their own daughter, and as such they arranged her marriage. Then, as the aforesaid Pietro and Violante had no other children, they left their home in the City [Rome] to go and live in the home of Franceschini at Arezzo. There for some time they continued to live together in peace ; but, as often happens among friends and relatives, contentions and quarrellings arose. On account of these, the aforesaid Pietro and Violante left that home and the city of Arezzo, and went back to Rome. In the meantime, as the flame of this enkindled hatred increased, a lawsuit was instituted as to the dowry once promised but now denied by Pietro, on the pretext that Francesca [Pompilia] was not indeed the daughter of the same Pietro and Violante, but that, after a pretence of her birth had been made, she had been received and brought up by them. And for this reason the said Guido [Franceschini] and Francesca [Pompilia] could not hope for the inheritance of the properties under the reversionary interest. But although Franceschini gained a favourable judgment on this point, yet when appeal had been made on behalf of Pietro Comparini, Francesca [Pompilia] declared that she was ill-treated in the home of her husband by himself, and therefore desired to leave that home. Accordingly, with the aid and companionship of Canon Caponsacchi, a relative of the said Franceschini, as is supposed, she ran away. But Franceschini had notice of his wife’s flight, and, following her up, he overtook her at the tavern of Castelnuovo. There he went to the governor of that place and saw to effecting the capture of his wife and the Canon, as indeed followed. Then the quarrel was continued. A criminal suit was brought in this Tribunal of the Governor of the City [Rome] ; the process of action was arranged, and the counsel on both sides was often heard both by word of mouth and in writing. At last it was decided that owing to lack of proof of adultery the said Canon should be banished to Civita Vecchia and Francesca [Pompilia] should be held in safe-keeping. But because the Comparini claimed that the furnishing of food

in the safe-keeping was the duty of Franceschini, and the latter declared it lay with Comparini, the most illustrious Lord Governor, having first secured the consent of Abate Paulo, the brother of Guido and his representative in the case, assigned the home of the Comparini to Francesca [Pompilia] as a safe and secure prison under security.

‘While these contests were still pending, both in the civil and criminal cases, as well as in that for divorce brought by Francesca [Pompilia], the wife, this same Franceschini schemed to take vengeance upon the abovesaid. For the execution of this criminal purpose he brought together [four hired assistants]. He provided them with swords and dagger . . . and entered the City [Rome] in company with the aforesaid men. Approaching the home of the Comparini, at the first hour of the night, he secured the opening of the door to himself under the pretence of bringing a letter, sent to Violante by the said Canon Caponsacchi then staying [in seclusion, as the court had ordered] at Civita Vecchia. As soon as the door of the home was opened by the said Violante, the aforesaid Guido and his companions immediately set upon her. She was cut to pieces with their swords and immediately fell dead. Pietro likewise was cut down and died. Francesca [Pompilia], however, tried to hide under a bed, but was found and wounded in many places. Then, as if God granted her the favour, she was not left utterly dead, though after a few days she also passed away ; and thus she could reveal the monstrous crime. As soon as my Lord Governor had notice of this, with most vigilant attention, he saw that the malefactors were pursued beyond the City. Accordingly that same night, they were discovered in the tavern at Merluccia with firearms and illegal swords, still bloody, and were taken back to prison. Then, when a case had been made against them, they were examined as to the crime. Some of them indeed confessed it, and though the others made denial of the management and knowledge of the killing of the entire family, yet against them there are most urgent presumptions of the knowledge and management abovesaid. Furthermore, from the same prosecution the gravest proofs have resulted, such as can be but slightly attacked and controverted by the defence.’

Such then is a summary of the case by one of the official prosecutors. A few details he does not here mention must be added. Guido belonged to an impoverished branch of the minor nobility; he was thirty-five when he married Pompilia, who was not then fourteen, and the marriage clearly was not without major economic motives. The marriage took place in September, 1693; by April, 1694, Pompilia's putative parents, Pietro and Violante, had had enough of Guido's household at Arezzo, and had returned to Rome. Between 1694 and 1697 Pompilia several times sought the intervention of officials and ecclesiastics in Arezzo to enable her to escape from her husband's cruelty. He, in his turn, accused her of infidelity. At last, and, according to Browning, as soon as she realised that she was to bear a child, she resorted to more desperate attempts, finally persuading Canon Caponsacchi to escort her in flight. They fled on 28th April, 1697, were overtaken and arrested at Castelnuovo. They were tried at Rome for adultery, and in September, 1697, the court seemingly found the charges proved—such at least is the apparent meaning of the report of the sentence on Caponsacchi, who was relegated to Civita Vecchia for three years 'for complicity in the flight, and for the seduction of Pompilia and for carnal knowledge of her'. But the exact import of the sentence was disputed; and that the issue was not finally closed appears from the fact that, because of her pregnancy, Pompilia was sent to a nunnery whilst enquiries were continued. She was later allowed to go to the home of her parents, the Comparini, where, on 18th December, 1697, eight months after her flight from Arezzo, she gave birth to a son. Guido's murderous assault took place on 2nd January, 1698; Pompilia died on 6th January. The trial of Guido ended on 18th February; he was condemned to death by beheading. Claiming right of clergy (he had taken minor orders), he appealed to the Pope. The Pope upheld the sentence, and Guido was beheaded on 22nd February, 1698.

That is the story told in the contents of *The Old Yellow Book*. The book itself is a made-up volume, put together by one Cencini, a Florentine lawyer who had had some professional connection with Franceschini. As a lawyer he managed to secure copies of the speeches prepared for the Judges by both

sides at the trial, together with one or two supplementary documents, which, though not official pleadings, were anonymous pamphlets doubtless inspired by the prosecution and the defence to stir public opinion. Browning does not shape his plot as continuous episodes in a court of justice. First of all, in his own person, he tells the story at large ; then follow three books, and in each of them a representative Roman citizen comments on the crime from his own angle, one sympathising with Guido, one moved mainly by pity for Pompilia, and the third, a more judicial dispassionate observer who is so objective that he reaches no clear decision. Guido fills the next book with his own defence. The following book Browning devotes to an imagined episode in which Caponsacchi, recalled from his relegation, fulminates against the judges on the day Pompilia dies. Next, Pompilia's death-bed speech has its own book ; then follow two books in which, first, the lawyer leading the defence, and next, the leading prosecutor, are heard talking each to himself as he prepares his speech. Then the book of the Pope, in which the Pope ruminates at length after he has determined to reject Guido's appeal. Last but not one, Guido, just prior to execution, is allowed another monologue ; and lastly Browning, in the twelfth book, rounds off the tale and the poem. In the course of the whole work the tale has been told some ten times, every time from a different viewpoint.

No one but Browning would have chosen copy, so apt for low and lurid journalism, as rich matter for exalted poetry. But he made out of it the epic of that modern world which democracy had built for itself in the nineteenth century. He transformed a sordid tale into a saga of democracy. It is easy to see how many of its features would catch his artistic notice. It was a love-story which looked like a suspicious elopement, and, of all people, a priest was one of the elopers. It led to adventures, such as pursuit, disclosure, and arrest ; it culminated in murder and execution. Could anything be richer in dramatic incident ? In substance, too, it was a tale involving some five or six interim trials at law ; and Browning, like Milton, found trials the formal symbols of the moral temptations which are the energising moments of spiritual growth. It is not, therefore, difficult to see

why the story interested Browning. But why did it seize his mind so powerfully as to fill his imagination for some five years, and emerge, in bulk at least, as his *magnum opus*? Above all, why should he make it explicitly the test of his own poetic worth and of the justification of poetry in general? The tale was exciting enough. But surely its ending was as it should be; virtue had emerged through trial, and right had triumphed over wrong. It was, however, just this complacent recognition of superficial justice which excited Browning. To him, Pompilia was not merely a party who on the whole deserved the verdict Not Guilty: she should emerge, dazzling all eyes as a chance-sown, cleft-nursed seed springing up by the wayside 'neath the foot of the enemy, and breaking all into blaze in one wide glorious rose, the one alone amongst all fit for the breast of God. The world, in fact, had caught but a flicker of the blazing beam of truth. So the poet's work was still to be done; the full truth was to be revealed.

It is precisely as the means of this revelation that Browning invites us to take and to measure *The Ring and the Book*. On these terms, too, one may find it the greatest Victorian poem. Yet one may accuse Browning of confounding the issue by letting his reason obstruct his imagination in his statement of the nature of poetic truth, and, consequently, of seeming to require from his readers their assent to unconvincing, and even confused, propositions.

What in the end he regarded as the truth of the matter is what all will accept, namely, that the story of the relationship of *his* Pompilia, *his* Caponsacchi, and *his* Guido is as he presents it. The Pope tells us what that final verdict is. Of Pompilia,

First of the first,
Such I pronounce Pompilia, then as now
Perfect in whiteness ;

of Caponsacchi, the warrior-priest,

. . . that other rose, the gold,
We grave to imitate God's miracle,
Greet monarchs with, good rose in its degree ;

and of Guido,

midmost blotch of black
Discernible in this group of clustered crimes
Huddling together in the cave they call
Their palace outraged day thus penetrates.

We accept the Pope's judgment.

But our acceptance is sometimes hindered by Browning's endeavours to secure it; in the end, moreover, it is not an acceptance of what explicitly he appears to offer to us. The two places in which he is overtly guiding us to follow his telling of Pompilia's story are, first, the initial explanation of the metaphorical 'ring' of the title, and secondly, the explanatory passage in which he considers the poet's relation to his material.¹

The metaphorical 'ring' is confusing because in its shaping it is not easy to distinguish which is the gold and which the alloy. The gold, it would seem, is the thing as the thing happened, the pure truth. But is the alloy the impurity which adheres to the truth as it passes through recorders of it until their record comes to the poet? Or is it the invaluable ingredient contributed by the poet to enable the raw metal to acquire intelligible shape? In any case, the ring itself is the artist's making: what therefore is the repristination? Is it what survives when something which is in the poet's work is removed? The 'spurt o' the proper fiery acid' seems to suggest this. But if the poet's work is to be dissolved, where is his poem? This is not only a matter of distinguishing *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit*; it is the further complication, whose *Dichtung* and what *Wahrheit*?

A further obstacle is the modesty of his claim for the poet's power over his raw material. In former full enjoyment of his imaginative vitality he had felt that the poet's faculty was, of all human activities, the one likest God's, the faculty of creating, of making something out of nothing:

And I know not if save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
That out of three sounds he make, not a fourth sound, but a star.

But now he sets it lower in the scale. It is no more than 'Mimic creation, galvanism for life'. Both ways of conceiving the poet's art are measurements of man's due degree in God's

¹ Book I, 1-32; 698-772; XII, 835-866.

process. But whereas one conception allows for the poet's vision of what never was on sea or land, the other formally seems to restrict imagination to mere resuscitation—'something dead may get to live again'. In other words, the two claims differ in this; the first asserts the poet's power to grasp ideal truth, the second defines his function in the search for historic truth.

It is this second claim which Browning offers as the test by which *The Ring and the Book* should be judged; virtually, he puts himself forward as a historian, not as a poet. And if he is to be judged as a historian must be judged, if *The Ring and the Book* is to be taken as a version of what the historic Pompilia and the historic Caponsacchi were, it appears not improbable that he must, on the balance of evidence, be held to be wrong. His Pompilia and his Caponsacchi, on close scrutiny, do not appear to have much resemblance to the actual Pompilia and the actual Caponsacchi.

It is a matter of soberly weighing the documentary evidence. It will be agreed that the bulk of the evidence alleged may be fitted to two contradictory accounts. On the one hand, the relations of Pompilia and Caponsacchi were the pure and ideal relations which Browning's Pompilia and Browning's Caponsacchi require, or Pompilia and Caponsacchi were of commoner clay than Browning gives to them, and their flight was an elopement rather than an incident of spiritual chivalry. Both views have, in a police-court sense, much to be said for them. But which, on the balance of evidence available, is the more probable?

How shall one decide? We have Browning's own frequent exposition of the fallibility of human judgment. He is not mainly concerned with such difficulties as arise from a cunning schemer's attempts to delude the seekers for truth. The problem is much deeper: it springs from the imperfection of man's faculties for truth-finding, and of the delusiveness of the means he must of necessity employ in the search. The judgment of One and of the Other Half Rome is a conclusion shaped much less by the operation of impersonal reason than by unconscious bias, prejudice, and mistrust, each growing from a complex of unassessable factors in the man's nature and in his circumstances.

No less unsatisfactory is the attempt to judge dispassionately, as does the *Tertium Quid* ; first of all because pure objectivity is beyond man's capacity, and even as much impersonality as man's mind can assume only reveals how incompetent absolute rational objectivity would be to pierce to the truth of human personality. Moreover, the formally established procedures by which questions of human guilt and innocence are tried are even more patently inadequate : their main instruments, the lawyers, are men, and their views are much more swayed by personal or professional motives than by a zeal for truth, as are in this case the views of of Dominus Archangelus, defending Procurator of the Poor, and of Doctor Bottinius, prosecuting Fisc. But the revelation of the peculiar inadequacy of these two lawyers is meant for humour rather than for additional evidence of anything inevitably incapacitating man in his attempt to grasp truth. Much more fundamental is the imperfection of man's means of knowing truth. For truth itself, ' the central truth, Power, Wisdom, Goodness, —God ', is vast, and too brilliantly radiant in itself for man's intelligence to comprehend :

Pure faith indeed—you know not what you ask !
 Naked belief . . . !
 Under a vertical sun, the exposed brain
 And lidless and disemprisoned heart
 Less certainly would wither up at once
 Than mind, confronted with the truth . . .

As man, he glimpses but ' fragmentary truths where light lies fitful in a tenebrific time ' ; as man, too, his search is impeded by the inadequacy of speech as his instrument for thought, and therefore for judgment :

our human speech is naught,
 Our human testimony false, our fame
 And human estimation words and wind.

It is not a matter of human propensity to deliberate falsehood :

But when man walks the garden of this world
 For his own solace, and, unchecked by law,
 Speaks or keeps silence as himself sees fit,
 Without the least incumbency to lie,
 —Why, can he tell you what a rose is like,
 Or how the birds fly, and not slip to false
 Though truth serve better ? Man must tell his mate
 Of you, me and himself, knowing he lies,

Knowing his fellow knows the same,—will think
 "He lies, it is the method of a man!"
 And yet will speak for answer "It is truth"
 To him who shall rejoin "Again a lie!"
 Therefore these filthy rags of speech, this coil
 Of statement, comment, query and response,
 Tatters all too contaminate for use,
 Have no renewing.

Words indeed are the medium of thought and of intercourse;
 but they distort both processes:

How look a brother in the face and say
 "Thy right is wrong, eyes hast thou yet art blind,
 Thine ears are stuffed and stopped, despite their length:
 And, oh, the foolishness thou countest faith!"
 Say this as silverly as tongue can troll—
 The anger of the man may be endured,
 The shrug, the disappointed eyes of him
 Are not so bad to bear—but here's the plague
 That all this trouble comes of telling truth,
 Which truth, by when it reaches him, looks false,
 Seems to be just the thing it would supplant,
 Nor recognisable by whom it left:
 While falsehood would have done the work of truth.

In no direction is the search for truth more difficult than in the assessment of human vice and virtue, where the crux is human motives, the seeds of act and not the merely outward execution of them. The Pope, in *The Ring and the Book*, returns again and again to the difficulties confronting him when he is called upon to give the final verdict, on the case submitted, distorted as it is already, by its transmission through the words of the judicial proceedings. In the records he finds

Truth, nowhere, lies yet everywhere in these—
 Not absolutely in a portion, yet
 Evolvable from the whole.

He evolves it at last, painfully but with unswerving courage in his final pronouncement of it. Knowing the fallibility of the human judgment-power, he also knows that man can use no more of it than God gives him. He feels it to be no simple and separate human faculty, but a complex intellectual operation which draws not only on man's pure reason, but on his whole outlook or philosophy or religion, on his subconscious responses to life, his instincts, and his sympathies. It is a joint process of

insight and oversight, a co-operative effect of reason and imagination.

This view of the Pope's is, indeed, closely allied to that which lies behind Browning's own belief about the place of the poet and of poetry in life: for the poet or artist is primarily the man whose imagination, prompted by intensified oversight, stirs him most frequently to moments of inspired insight: he sees into the heart of things. And Browning, in his own voice, asserts the validity of such poetic insight in the discovery of the truth of the Roman murder-case:

It is the glory and good of Art,
That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth, to mouths like mine at least.
. . . Art,—wherein man nowise speaks to men,
Only to mankind,—Art may tell a truth
Obliquely, do the thing shall breed the thought,
Nor wrong the thought, missing the mediate word.
So may you paint your picture, twice show truth
Beyond mere imagery on the wall,—
So, note by note, bring music from your mind,
Deeper than ever e'en Beethoven dived,—
So write a book shall mean beyond the facts,
Suffice the eye and save the soul beside.

The greater poetic faculty of the poet excites the smaller poetic faculty of the reader into apprehending its measure of the whole truth.

Such then is the claim. Is Browning's presentation of Pompilia and of Caponsacchi true? My own answer is that in the real sense, it is incontestably true, but that in an irrelevant sense, and the one which unfortunately Browning confused with the essential one, it is fairly clearly false.

Turn to the second point first. Were the actual Pompilia and the actual Caponsacchi at all like Browning's Pompilia and Caponsacchi? At various stages during the legal proceedings depositions were taken from most of the people concerned. There are, as would be expected, many discrepancies, explicable, may be, as deliberate falsehoods or faulty recollections or unintended misstatements. But in two instances the discrepancies appear crucial: one concerns Pompilia's assertion that she could not write, and the other relates to incidents at the inn at

Castelnuovo where she and Caponsacchi were overtaken in their flight.¹

Pompilia's depositions are given in Browning's source, *The Old Yellow Book*. For the moment, our concern is not with what he took and what he rejected from the depositions. It is with the depositions themselves. In them Pompilia's assertions about her incapacity to write or read manuscript become crucial tests of her veracity and reliability as a witness to truth. In Guido's case against her, he submitted letters alleged to have been written in 1694 and in the spring of 1697. The second of these batches is the more important: the letters were love-letters alleged to have been written by her to Caponsacchi before the 'elopement'. In a deposition sworn by her in the trial following the 'elopement' or flight, she said, on 13th May, 1697, that within the last month she had asked a priest to write to her parents for her, 'because I cannot write'. She explained a little later that in a sense she might have written the 1694 letters—not love-letters—because her husband made her make ink-tracings over words which he had written and which she did not understand. She also denied that, before the 'elopement', she had ever sent a letter to Caponsacchi, or that Caponsacchi had ever written a letter to her, 'because I cannot read manuscript and cannot write'. Note the date of these depositions, 13th and 21st May. But Caponsacchi, in his depositions, swore that he had received letters which he took to be Pompilia's. They might, of course, have been forgeries. However, he swore that Pompilia had herself drawn up by string to her window a letter written by him to her. That is clearly incompatible with her statement that she had never had a letter from him. Although such discrepancy might be explained away, there is a much more difficult dilemma.

After the murder-trial, there was a subsequent law-case about the disposal of the dead Pompilia's estate. Amongst evidence submitted in this case was a letter which had been written by Pompilia on 3rd May, 1697, whilst she was under arrest for the

¹ The appendices added by A. K. Cook to his *Commentary upon Browning's The Ring and the Book* (1920) collect the relevant references, particularly Appendices IV and V.

'elopement', appealing to her parents for help. The letter had been found in her parents' house after the murders; it seems improbable that its presence there could be explained except by assuming that Pompilia did write it to her parents. In it, she says she has written to them before, but fears that, knowing her illiteracy, they may not have believed the letters to be hers; she assures them, however, that whilst at Arezzo she has learnt the art of writing. Here, then, is the difficulty. On 3rd May she asserts that she can write, on 13th and 21st May she swears that she cannot write. Clearly, the statements excite suspicion, although partial clarifications and partly satisfactory explanations might be suggested.¹ The case is much blacker, however, with the second discrepancy, the one relating to incidents at the inn at Castelnuovo.

Pompilia swears that for her flight she met Caponsacchi at dawn, and that they reached the inn at Castelnuovo afterwards at another dawn. She says they stopped there 'for the space of more than an hour', during which time they stayed in a room upstairs, and she neither slept nor lay down to rest whilst she was at the inn. On the other hand, Caponsacchi says that they met in Arezzo at 1 a.m., and reached Castelnuovo in the evening. He adds that, as Pompilia was tired, they decided to stay at the inn; they threw themselves down in their clothes and on separate beds in the same room, telling the landlord to call them in three or four hours. The landlord forgot, and so Guido, pursuing the fugitives, overtook them together in this room. There are clear discrepancies in these stories; and when Pompilia was informed of the facts to which Caponsacchi had sworn, she still stuck to her own story. What would a representative jury of to-day say of evidence like this?

The flight, merely as an episode in itself, judged alone by the testimony of Caponsacchi and of Pompilia, seems to provide evidence which would justify an assumption of adultery. But of course, the flight is only one episode in the whole story of the Roman murder-case; and in this full tale the revelations, warranted by evidence, of Guido's nature and of his treatment of his wife, would still, one imagines, move an average spectator

¹ Browning's suggestions (IX, 448-468) are a very forced way of dealing with the difficulty.

to incline to find all possible excuses for Pompilia. An interesting confirmation of this likelihood has just been made available. The Baylor University of Texas has a magnificent collection of Browningiana, and its *Bulletin* is full of Browning matter. It has recently published a translation of a hitherto unknown Italian manuscript, contemporary with the events it records, which tells again the Roman murder-story.¹ The anonymous writer, who knew, as did Browning's *One Half, and Other Half Rome*, and his *Tertium Quid*, the story which emerged in the murder-trial, is so moved by Guido's villainy that he completely sympathises with Pompilia. Such sympathy also underlies the account in *The Secondary Source* which Browning knew; but in this fresh document it is even more apparent, and goes by implication so far as to make Pompilia a guiltless victim. Yet the new manuscript, like the hitherto known *Secondary Source*, is not really concerned with Pompilia's purity. It is engrossed by Guido's guilt, and adopts Pompilia's childish innocence as incidental to the story. It expresses the normally decent man's horror at the crime and his sentimental siding with the victim of it. It is the sort of instinctive response of the common man's mixed way, half rational, half intuitive, of weighing rough justice.

But that is far from Browning's case in *The Ring and the Book*. Here is no matter of rough justice. It is a case of recognising absolute saintliness. Yet the poet is, in effect, exercising the same kind of judgment-faculty as is the anonymous common man, though in the poet's, which vastly surpasses the common man's, degree. He grasps his Pompilia by his creative imagination which is stirred by his instinctive responses; as did the common man in the anonymous pamphlet with his small creative faculty and his far less potent intuitive insight. The common man, in his account, merely omits to mention the incompatibilities of the police-court evidence; Browning transcends them. But neither the common man nor Browning faces the police-court problem of Pompilia's guilt or innocence. With all the evidence before us, it is impossible to acquit her of suspicious unverity; no less impossible, on particular and general grounds, to suspect

¹ The *Baylor Bulletin*, No. 4, Vol. XLII, December, 1939. Browning's Roman Murder Story as recorded in a hitherto unknown Italian contemporary manuscript. Translated by E. H. Yarrill, with an introduction by W. O. Raymond.

that her flight was a sort of elopement in the mundane sense, and that her relation to Caponsacchi was—what Browning half-admits as his to her—not unlike the relationship which humans call the love of men and women.

Altogether then our vote would be that Browning's repeated claim to have presented Pompilia and Caponsacchi as in fact they actually were is not substantiated. The likelihood is that commoner human motives prompted their story. Hence, if the test of *The Ring and the Book* is what Browning stated it to be—namely its veracious repristination of an actual event,—it fails.

But the test is entirely irrelevant. The poet's truth is not the historian's—though the imagination of the poet can, when it is so minded, galvanise the dead facts of the historian into life. The poet's truth, however, transcends this. Hear Sir Philip Sidney—'with the force of a divine breath the poet bringeth things forth far surpassing Nature's doings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam,—since our erected wit maketh us know what perfection is, and yet our infected will keepeth us from reaching it'. The poet is not mainly concerned with what was, as is the historian. His realm, the zodiac of his creative imagination, is the ideal. Hear Sidney again: 'poets borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be, but range, only reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be and should be.' Two thousand years before Sidney, Plato and Aristotle had said much the same. Browning's portrait of Pompilia and Caponsacchi is not to be measured by its conformity with what the particular mortals called Pompilia and Caponsacchi had been; it is to be assessed as a foresight of what a Pompilia and a Caponsacchi might be. Browning's Pompilia and Browning's Caponsacchi are immeasurably more important than their historic counterparts. They are a great poet's vision of spiritual achievements within the reach of the human soul. They are a sublime assertion of what man may make out of life. The truth of them is the absolute conviction of their ideal possibility which the poet's poetry gives to his poetic fictions. Browning's Pompilia and his Caponsacchi are true, though they never existed, least of all in the man and woman bearing those names in the records of the Roman murder-case.

FRANÇOIS VILLON AT ST. BENOÎT.

By EDWARD F. CHANEY, M.A.,
HEADMASTER OF MANCHESTER CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

AS so little is known of Villon's life it seems necessary to study the environment in which he lived. It is, I think, undisputed that the influence of St. Benoît, where he spent a considerable part of his short life, was very great. This is an attempt to assess this influence on his life and character.

It is almost certain that, at the early age of six or seven, François was adopted by the discreet and learned Guillaume de Villon, one of the chaplains of Saint Benoît. It has been surmised that the poet's mother was a distant relative of Guillaume, but there is nothing to support this theory. It was certainly the custom in those days for the clergy to adopt small children, who often grew into pillars of the Church themselves. Although there is no proof of this adoption the poet, on two occasions, expresses gratitude to Guillaume for all that he had done for him. Thus in the *Grand Testament* :—

Item, et a mon plus que pere,
Maistre Guillaume de Villon,
Qui esté m'a plus doulx que mere
A enfant levé de maillon :
Degeté m'a de maint bouillon,
Et de cestuy pas ne s'esjoye,
Si luy requier a genouillon
Qu'il m'en laisse toute la joye ;

T. 849-856.

which clearly shows that no father could have been kinder to François than old Guillaume was. He was gentler than a mother to him in his tender years, and had got him out of several youthful scrapes.

We know from the '*Cartulaire de la communauté de Saint-Benoît fait l'an mil 467*' that the '*hostel de la Porte-Rouge*' was in 1433 conveyed to Guillaume de Villon, '*chappelain de ladite église*', for a certain rental and that the house remained his until his death in 1468. In the month of January 1456 (n.s.) Charles

VII pardoned François des Loges, '*autrement dit de Villon*', for his part in the death of Philippe Chermoye. In this document it is stated that Villon was sitting under the clock of Saint-Benoist-le-Bientourné '*ou cloistre duquel Saint-Benoist estoit demourant ledit suppliant*'. It seems most probable that François lived in the house called '*La porte rouge*' which was the home of old Guillaume for so many years.

The present Sorbonne buildings cover the site of this ancient church, which was disestablished during the French Revolution, and finally demolished in 1854. Because its altar was situated at the western end of the church for many years it was known as *Saint-Benoît-le-Bestourné*. In the first half of the fourteenth century the altar was removed to the eastern end, a new entrance was made, and its name was changed to '*Bientourné*'. We first find the church mentioned by name in records of the eleventh century. Originally, it is thought, it was the church of *Benedictus Deus*, but at an early date it became the church of Saint Benedict, the founder of the Benedictine monks, who lived in the sixth century.

A glance at the plan, which is a reproduction of the one first printed by Longnon in 1877, shows that the church was quite a large one. It was about fifty yards by thirty. The rectangular cloister was about thirty yards by eighteen, while the distance from the *charniers* to the *Rue des Mathurins* was nearly a hundred and thirty yards. The same distance separated the prison from the famous *Mule* tavern. No doubt it was from a room in Guillaume's house that François used to hear the Sorbonne clock sounding the *Angelus* at nine o'clock each night. Then, he tells us, he stopped, whatever he was doing:—

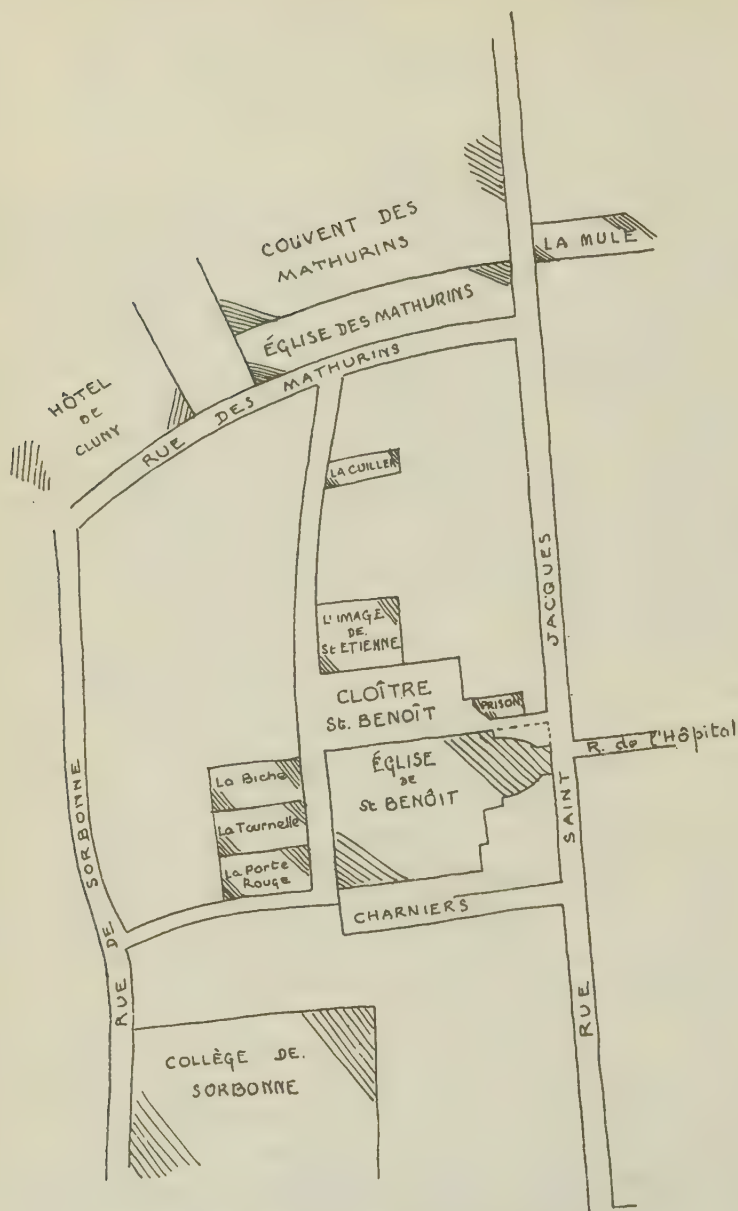
Pour prier comme le cuer dit.

L. 280.

The community of Saint-Benoît was then the training ground of François in his most impressionable years. Its influence on the poet was deep and lasting, but perhaps greatest of all was the influence of the worthy Guillaume de Villon.

Guillaume took a degree in *décret*—a kind of canon law—in 1421. Ten years later we find him installed in Saint-Benoît. As we have seen, he took possession of *La Porte Rouge* in 1433.

Besides his church functions he taught *décret* in the University schools. By 1435 he was a man of some distinction, and in



SKETCH-PLAN OF SAINT-BENOÎT-LE-BIENOURNÉ.

1438 it is recorded that he dined twice with Jacques Séguin, the sociable prior of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in Paris, where he

met many notables in the legal world. Guillaume gradually became a man of some substance. He seems to have possessed several houses, and in 1467 we certainly find him letting off some of his vineyards in the Clos Bourgeois near Vaugirard. It is also recorded that in 1450 he was for a time in the prison of Notre Dame for an unspecified offence.

It was certainly a benevolent, middle-aged man who took charge of François in his young days. In the fifteenth century, as in the four succeeding centuries, beating was the inevitable concomitant of learning. As François makes no mention of any pedagogic barbarity, we may assume that his early lessons were given by a kindly soul—most probably by old Guillaume himself. He would instruct him in Latin grammar, in all likelihood, from Aelius Donatus' book '*De octo partibus orationis*'. From an early age François would attend the usual services, hear stories from the lives of the Saints and from the Bible, and possibly begin to hear some of the legal phraseology which he uses so effectively in his poems. At the age of twelve he probably began to study in the Faculty of Arts, which was a necessary preliminary to study in any of the major faculties of Theology, Medicine and Décret (Canon Law).

It is likely that François was a clever lad, perhaps a trifle precocious. He seems to have had a wonderful memory, even though we remember that the scarcity of books called for greater use of memory than is necessary now. Nature had endowed him with great powers of accurate observation, matched later by a forceful, brief and picturesque style of writing. Whether he were describing an evening in the life of that king of toppers, Jean Cotart, or the scenes in the *Cimetière des Innocents*, his powers of observation and expression strike us immediately.

We may assume that, from a very early age, François began to assimilate the likes and dislikes of the clergy of Saint Benoît. This church had been for years a subject church of Notre Dame, and was never allowed to forget it. On 11th July, the day of the patron saint, in each year there was a visitation by two canons of Notre Dame. They inspected the fabric of the church and probably its accounts as well. They would take part in a service, and the clergy of Saint Benoît had to sing or say the responses.

Then there was the handing over of the annual tribute and later the ecclesiastics of Notre Dame probably walked round the purlieu of the church. They would recommend their brethren of Saint Benoît to effect certain repairs and to clean up any refuse they saw lying about. Altogether 11th July was a day dreaded by the worthy folk of Saint Benoît and, no doubt, there was great relief among them when their haughty visitors at length departed. Feeling between the two communities had been embittered because Notre Dame had consistently refused the title of 'chapter' to Saint Benoît. Nevertheless, in certain dealings with Parlement in 1407 Saint Benoît had called themselves a chapter. They were summoned to appear before the chapter of Notre Dame, and had to apologise for their temerity. Their apologies were not sincere, for in the next year we find one of their canons excommunicated and imprisoned by Notre Dame for a similar offence. It is quite certain that the clergy of Saint Benoît did call themselves 'chapter' on every possible occasion. In a legal document of 1446 they are described as '*messeigneurs les chanoines et chappitre de l'église Saint Benoît à Paris*'. Young François had no doubt been present at one, at least, of these visitations. In the *Lais* he resigns his nomination from the University to relieve the distress of two poor clerics of Paris :—

C'est maistre Guillaume Cotin
Et maistre Thibault de Victry,
Deux povres clers, parlans latin,
Paisibles enfans, sans estry,
Humbles, bien chantans au lectry ;

L. 217-221.

Needless to say, these two poor clerics were really two wealthy old canons of Notre Dame who had visited Saint Benoît on some occasion and generally made themselves unpleasant to their brethren there.

Aucunes gens ont grans merveilles
Que tant m'incline vers ces deux ;
Mais, foy que doy festes et veilles,
Oncques ne vy les meres d'eulx !

T. 1334-1337.

Is it possible that these two ancient canons were thus dismissed by the poet with an unseemly pun ?

It should be mentioned here that the Chapter of Notre Dame nominated the canons of Saint Benoît, who elected the chaplains. The causes of the disagreement between the two churches went deep. Notre Dame resented the privilege conferred on Saint Benoît by Charles V in 1364 of becoming 'lords of the manor', which is something like the equivalent of *droit de seigneurie* granted by this royal charter. All through the Hundred Years' War Saint Benoît continued strongly royalist, whereas most of the clergy of Notre Dame inclined to the English or, at any rate, the Burgundian side. Moreover, three of the clergy of Saint Benoît, Jean de Montigny, Denis le Comte and François Ferrebouc, had a considerable share in drawing up the documents for the rehabilitation of Joan of Arc which Charles VII strove for in the last few years of his reign. François imbibed the national sympathies of Saint Benoît. In his famous ballad, '*des Dames du temps jadis*', he enshrines the name of *Jehanne la bonne Lorraine* after the names of five queens and princesses and immediately before his apostrophe to the Virgin Mary. In the next ballad he speaks of Bertrand du Guesclin when he regretfully asks—

Ou est Claquin le bon Breton ?

T. 381.

Again, in the *Ballade contre les ennemis de la France* he denies all virtues to anyone—

Qui mal vouldroit au royaulme de France.

D. V, 38.

With these loyalist opinions François also imbibed from Saint Benoît a rooted dislike of the Friars. At the time that Villon wrote feeling was running very high, for the Friars had received confirmation of their powers from the Pope in 1456. The clergy of Paris tried to prevent the Friars from confessing and burying people—not on religious grounds but out of self-interest. The Friars had gained considerable power among the laity of Paris, and if they went on increasing it the clergy saw that they, themselves, were doomed to ultimate extinction.

The first Friars, '*frères de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs*', seem to have been installed in the church and district of Saint-Jacques in 1219. In those days the University gave them a cordial welcome

and the early relations between them were of the warmest character. In 1224 the Bishop of Paris came to hear a sermon preached in their church and afterwards ate with the brothers in their refectory. From the name of their church these Dominican Friars were almost universally known as *Jacobins*. The Franciscans, known as *Cordeliers* or *Fratres minores*, took up their abode in Paris in 1230. They also were warmly welcomed by Saint-Louis and the University. The Augustinian Friars arrived at the end of the thirteenth century, and the Carmelites in the early years of the fourteenth.

Before the arrival of these two orders the Jacobins and the Cordeliers had acquired such wealth and influence that the fears of the University were aroused. One of its professors, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, in 1255 wrote a short treatise, *De Periculis novissimorum temporum*, in which he stoutly defended the clergy against the encroachments of the Dominicans. In 1256 Pope Alexander IV writes to the Bishop of Paris to say that he had deprived Guillaume of all his ecclesiastical dignities, had forbidden him to teach or preach, and had banished him from France. In 1259 the Pope condemned certain other well-known pamphlets written against the Friars, and promised excommunication of any others who should attempt to write similar works in the future. In spite of the efforts of the University of Paris, Guillaume remained in exile at Saint Amour (Jura) until his death in 1272.

It was probably between 1260 and 1270 that the Parisian poet, Rutebeuf, reproached Louis IX for his munificence towards the Mendicant Friars. These *papelarts* received money which should have been devoted to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre ! He also reproached the Friars for their wealth.

About twenty years after the papal threat of excommunication another Parisian poet, Jean de Meung, who lived in the Rue St. Jacques, attacked the Friars. In the *Roman de la Rose* Faux-Semblant tells how his mother, *Ypocrisie*, caused the exile of Guillaume de Saint-Amour because he

—voulait que je reneiasse
Mendicité e labourasse,
Se je n'avaie de quei vivre.
Bien me voulait tenir pour ivre.

Car labourer ne me peut plaire ;
 De labourer n'ai je que faire :
 Trop a grant peine en labourer.
 J'aim meauz devant les genz ourer
 E afubler ma renardie
 Dou mantel de papelardie.

Roman, 11515-24.

In 1215 the Council of Lateran had given force to the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which stated that every true Christian of either sex, after reaching years of discretion, should, at least once a year, confess all his sins to his own priest. If, however, for good cause any person should wish to confess to another priest, then the latter should obtain permission from the person's own priest. Without this authority absolution could not be given. Jean de Poullieu (or de Pouilli) went further than this, and maintained that any one who had confessed to a friar must also confess to his own clergyman. He even stated that so long as the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* remained in force neither God nor the Pope could, by dispensation, free any man from his obligation to confess his sins once a year to his own clergyman. In 1321 Pope John XXII condemned these propositions and compelled Jean de Poullieu publicly to retract them. The University honoured Jean for his statement of their case, but Villon castigated him for the pusillanimity of his retraction. In 1449 Pope Nicholas V issued a bull, called by Villon *la Carmeliste bulle*, which gave the Mendicant Friars power to confess. This bull practically abrogated the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus*, and was no doubt heatedly discussed by the clergy. François heard much about it at Saint Benoît. After a great deal of argument the University, the clergy, and the Friars came to an agreement, which left the Friars with almost undiminished powers, in 1457, the year after François had written *Le Lais*.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the Friars began to come into the towns, the clergy had fallen low. At first they welcomed the new-comers, who, by their example and energy, brought about a religious revival and gained great influence among the people, who responded to the new methods used by the Friars. The clergy took alarm and began to fear

for their vested interests. The Friars owed no allegiance to the bishops, but were directly answerable to the Pope. Hence the long bitter quarrel between the priests and the Friars, who were really doing the same thing—spreading religion among the people.

It was also during his years in Saint Benoît that François gained his quite extensive knowledge of the Bible. Although Gaston Paris, in his admirable study of Villon, thought little of his biblical knowledge, it has appeared to some later observers that this knowledge went a good deal deeper than, at first sight, seemed likely. Ferdinando Neri, for instance, thought there was room for a considerable study on 'Villon and the Bible' because he was often so directly inspired by it. It is true, as Paris says, that Villon quotes from the Bible the names that every Christian ought to know. In the fifteenth century men picked up most of their biblical lore from church services, mystery plays, and from the numerous public sermons which were given often in an open space, and which sometimes lasted three or four hours! On the other hand, Villon on several occasions shows a very intimate knowledge of the text. Once he quotes the exact words, and in several places gives an accurate French rendering of the Latin original.

Thus in his 'Epître à Marie d'Orléans' he quotes the words *Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua* from the 92nd Psalm—'For thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work'. He is only one verse out when he refers to the *verselet escript septiesme Du psëaulme Deus laudem*. The eighth verse of this Psalm is *Fiant dies ejus pauci et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*—'Let his days be few; and let another take his office' (Ps. cix, 8). Its barb is evident when he applies these words to Bishop Thibault d'Aussigny, who

Peu m'a d'une petite miche
Et de froide eaue tout ung esté.

T. 13-14.

On more than one occasion Villon expresses the deepest hatred for this bishop who, in 1461, kept him for the whole summer in a dungeon at Meung.

In one of his confessional moods Villon writes

Je suis pecheur, je le sçay bien ;
 Pourtant ne veult pas Dieu ma mort,
 Mais convertisse et vive en bien,
 Et tout autre que pechié mort,

T. 105-108.

which is rather more than a reflection of 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live' (Ezekiel, xxxiii, 11).

Again we read

Le dit du Saige trop luy feiz
 Favorable (bien en puis mais !)
 Qui dit : "Esjoÿs toy, mon filz,
 En ton adolescence" ; mais
 Ailleurs sert bien d'ung autre mes.
 Car "Jeunesse et adolescence,"
 C'est son parler, ne moins ne mais,
 "Ne sont qu'abus et ignorance".

T. 209-216.

Villon had remembered the words, 'Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth . . . for childhood and youth are vanity' (Eccl. xi, part of verses 9 and 10).

The next stanza is

Mes jours s'en sont allez errant
 Comme, dit Job, d'une touaille
 Font les filetz, quand tisserant
 En son poing tient ardente paille :
 Lors, s'il y a nul bout qui saille
 Soudainement il le ravit,

T. 217-222.

which is a paraphrase of Job, '*Dies mei velocius transierunt quam a texente tela succiditur, et consumpti sunt absque ulla spe*'. If Jeanroy's conjecture is correct, Villon may have found *succenditur* in the copy he consulted instead of *succiditur*. This would help very much to explain the *ardente paille* which quickly burns off any protruding ends.

A little further on in the *Testament* we find

Qu' avoir esté seigneur ! Que dis ?
 Seigneur, las ! et ne l'est il mais ?
 Selon les davitiques dis
 Son lieu ne congnoistra jamais.

T. 289-292.

It is difficult to think that Villon had not in mind the words of the Psalmist, *Quoniam spiritus pertransibit in illo, et non subsistet : et non cognoscet amplius locum suum* (Ps. ciii, 15-16). The last six words of the Latin original seem conclusive.

One final example. Just before he introduces his ballad, *Les contrediz de Franc Gontier*, Villon writes

Le Saige ne veult que contende
Contre puissant povre homme las,
Affin que ses fillez ne tende
Et qu'il ne trebuche en ses las.

T. 1461-1464.

At the beginning of the eighth chapter of Ecclesiasticus we find *Non litiges cum homine potente, ne forte incidas in manus illius*, so it seems likely that Villon had this passage in mind when he wrote the four lines above.

Of these seven passages only the verse from Ecclesiastes could be counted as a commonplace. This tends to show that Villon had a more detailed knowledge of parts of the Psalms, Job, Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus than could be expected of the average Christian of those days. The closeness of Villon's rendering to the words of the original cannot be just a coincidence. He probably had to study parts of some Old Testament books and might even have had to memorise certain passages. He probably had in his mind a fairly large number of these passages, for it is pretty clear that in his later work, at any rate, he never obtrudes his knowledge, but uses it discreetly to enforce the lesson he wants to convey. It is interesting to note that about half his references to the Scriptures occur in the first 824 lines of the *Testament*. In the opinion of several competent critics this was the portion of his work which he wrote last, and which would consequently contain his maturest ideas. There is certainly much to be said in support of this theory.

The instances just quoted do show that Villon's knowledge of the Scriptures was well above the average. The ordinary Christian of those days might well have heard the stories associated with the biblical names mentioned by Villon, but would not have much acquaintance with the actual text of the Bible. There were very few Bibles to read, and only a tiny percentage of the people knew enough Latin to read them. The scarcity

of books, indeed, compelled students to commit many things to memory and, no doubt, Villon's textual knowledge was gained during his period of training for the church.

Most of the clergy of St. Benoît were *décretistes* or students of canon law. Consequently there would often be much talk in legal phraseology which a keen listener like François would soon pick up. It is possible, too, that after taking his *licence* he studied for a short time in the faculty of *décret*. Perhaps, too, he heard the clergy talking to their *procureurs* or legal advisers. It is even possible that at some time in his career he may have earned small sums of money by copying legal documents. At any rate, it is quite evident from his works that his knowledge of law terms was, for a poet, extensive and most precise.

Some members of the community of Saint Benoît seem to have touched Villon's life closely. Among the canons there during the poet's lifetime let us mention Louis Raguier, Pierre du Vaucel and the brothers Jean and Etienne de Montigny. Pierre du Vaucel is named merely on account of similarity of surname to that Katherine de Vausselles, who, according to the poet, caused him such distress by her heartless treatment of him. Louis Raguier may have been related to Jean and Jacques Raguier who figure among Villon's legatees. Jean seems to have excelled in eating, and Jacques in drinking, if we are to judge him by Villon's bequest to him of two taverns and the *Abreuvoir Popin*, which was a famous drinking place for Paris horses. Unquenchable thirst seems to have evoked the warmest admiration from the poet. The brothers Montigny were almost certainly relatives of that Regnier de Montigny who exercised a baneful influence over François and finished on the gallows. Regnier was the son of a certain Jean de Montigny (not, of course, the canon) who was 'pannetier du roi et élu de la ville de Paris' who had followed the Dauphin—afterwards Charles VII—into exile in 1418 when the Burgundians entered Paris. When he returned with the King in 1436 he found most of his belongings gone and his inheritance in ruins. Soon afterwards he died, leaving a widow, two daughters and a son, Regnier, born in 1429. He probably fell into evil in his early years, for in a document of 1452 we find the Bishop of Paris claiming that Montigny and one Jehan Rosay

should be surrendered by the civil authorities to himself, who alone had jurisdiction over *clerics*. This was strongly opposed by counsel for the Provost of Paris, who said that Montigny and Rosay were accused of beating two *sergents* who, in the course of their duty, found Montigny '*a heure indeue . . . à l'uis de l'ostel de la Grosse Margot*'. They told him that he had no business to be there at that time of day, and ordered him to go away. Montigny refused. The *sergents* tried to take his dagger away, but Montigny cried out and up came Rosay with another man called Taillelamine. The three of them '*batirent tresgrandement lesdiz sergens*'. For this they were summoned to appear before the Provost, who banished them. Counsel for the Bishop stated that both Montigny and Rosay were *clerics*, and the charge against them should not prevent their being surrendered to him. Even if guilty their punishment should be entrusted to him. Montigny's counsel said that a *sergent*, not in uniform, came to a house where Montigny and the others were, and asked them what they were doing there. They told him to mind his own business, and in the ensuing struggle Montigny gave the *sergent* a blow on the crown of his hat. He added that the *sergent* makes no complaint against Montigny '*et ne lui demande rien*'. The matter was referred to Parlement and to the Royal Council. In 1457 Montigny was again claimed by the Bishop of Paris from the civil authorities. Counsel for the King said that Montigny had stolen a chalice from the church of Saint-Jean, had used pick-locks, had many times been caught and delivered up to the Bishop, had shown no sign of amending his ways, had been three times imprisoned in the Châtelet, and afterwards surrendered to the Bishop, had been in prison in Tours and in Rouen, is a swindler, *goliardus*, *et finaliter cecidit in profundum malorum*. On behalf of the Bishop it was urged that the punishment of all these crimes came within the Bishop's province. Incurribility was not a good reason for refusing to give him up, especially as the Bishop had dealt faithfully with Montigny on every occasion when he had fallen into the Bishop's hands. Again the whole question was referred to the Council for decision. Things were getting unpleasant for Montigny. He was condemned to death for we still possess a *lettre de rémission* granted by the

King to Montigny in the following month. After a brief recapitulation of his father's services to the King his ill deeds are ascribed to his destitution. He had kept guard while one of his companions stole two silver flagons from the church of the Quinze-Vingts. He had stolen cloth at Poitiers by the old trick of showing the merchant twenty nobles in a box and then substituting another box with only rubbish inside. He had also fraudulently won money at the game of *marelles*. In consequence of these misdeeds, '*il a este condempné à mourir par nostre prevost de Paris ou son lieutenant criminel*'. His death would be dishonourable to himself and his family, and perhaps dangerous to his sister, who was pregnant. Montigny, moreover, repents of his misdeeds and promises to amend his ways for the future. Taking all these things into consideration, the King decided to pardon him, '*pourveu que ledit Regnier tendra estroite prison basse par l'espace d'un an entier au pain et à l'eau, et après l'an incontinent finy, fera ung pelerinage en sa personne à Saint-Jaques en Galice, et en rapportera certificacion du maistre de l'eglise dudit lieu de Saint-Jaques. Donné à Paris ou mois de Septembre, l'an de grace MCCCC cinquante sept. . .*'

Letters of pardon had to be presented to the court for ratification. One false statement or one serious omission was sufficient to invalidate the pardon. When Montigny presented his pardon to the court there was considerable discussion, and it is most unlikely that it was ever ratified. If it were not the law would take its course and Montigny would be hanged. It is more than probable that he was hanged soon after September, 1457. In the account of an enquiry, held by Jehan Rabustel in 1455 concerning the activities of a band of Coquillards, appears a list of names of some of the people implicated. In this list we find the name of Regnier de Montigny, and against it are written the words *mort et pendu*. These words must have been inserted some time after the report was written because, as we have already seen, Montigny was certainly alive in 1457. In one of the ballads that Villon wrote (c. 1460) in the jargon of the Coquillards appear the words :

Montigny y fut par exemple
 Bien attaché au halle grup
 Et y jargonnast il le trempie
 Dont l'amboureux luy rompt le suc.

Although some of these words are quite inexplicable, it is generally thought that the last six words mean that the executioner broke Montigny's neck. Montigny's career has been given at some length because it is almost certain that he exercised a powerful influence on Villon during his most impressionable years. It is more than likely that Montigny was instrumental in persuading François to join that widespread band of robbers and swindlers known as *Coquillards*.

After the canons come the chaplains, and among them we see the names of the brothers Jean and Pierre Cardon, of Laurent Poutrel, and of François Ferrebouc. It seems more than likely that the two first-named were brothers of the Jacquet Cardon to whom, in the *Lais*, Villon left his gloves, his silk hood, and every day a fat goose, a plump capon, ten hogsheads of the whitest wine '*et deux procès que trop n'engresse*'. This Cardon seems to have been fond of his food and drink or, at any rate, Villon had noticed that Jacquet's life was much fuller than his own, and therefore made the ingenious bequest of two lawsuits to prevent his growing over-fat. Jacquet was a prosperous cloth merchant who owned some property in Paris. Although he was about eight years older than François they seem to have been fairly intimate at one time. In the *Testament* Villon confesses that he has nothing respectable to bequeath to this worthy burgess of Paris except his *bergeronnette*, '*Au retour de dure prison*'. At the same time he reminds Jacquet of certain, not too respectable songs that they perhaps sang together in earlier days.

Another chaplain of St. Benoît in Villon's day was Laurent Poutrel, grand beadle of the Faculty of Theology, who spent much time and energy in trying to recover the 500 *écus d'or* which Villon and his associates had stolen from the Collège de Navarre in 1456. When the story of this robbery had been revealed by Tabary, in 1458, under considerable pressure from his gaolers, the Faculty of Theology stipulated that Tabary's mother must pay 50 *écus* in two instalments if her son were to be liberated. Somehow, she contrived to find the money because two receipts, signed by Poutrel, are still in existence. In 1462 Villon was in prison on some unknown charge and, presumably for lack of proof, was on the point of being liberated when Poutrel,

who knew from Tabary all about Villon's share in the theft, intervened and paid sixteen *deniers* to register opposition to his release. Villon was then compelled to find guarantors for the repayment of 120 *écus* in three instalments of 40 each, *infra tres annos proxime venturos*, as the old record says. As Villon was liberated almost at once, we may assume that this was done and, no doubt, the worthy Guillaume once more paid up or promised so to do to ensure the release of his scapegrace *protégé*.

François Ferrebouc (or Ferrebourg) who, according to Marcel Schwob, was at one time a chaplain of St. Benoît, was better known in Villon's day as the papal notary at Paris. His office was next door to the Mule tavern and opposite the Couvent des Mathurins. Between 1456 and 1458 he and Denis le Comte received 68 *livres tournois* for their efforts in connection with the rehabilitation of Joan of Arc. Then they were *ordonnez à escrire le procès et sentence en six volumes ou livres* for which they were paid 300 *livres tournois*. In 1458, at the interrogation of Guy Tabary concerning the robbery at the Collège de Navarre we read that, after lengthy questioning interspersed with torture, Tabary was returned to his prison *presentibus venerabilibus magnis magistris Stephano de Montigny, Roberto Tuleu, decretorum doctoribus, Symone Chappitault, Dyonisio Commitis, Francisco Ferrebouc, Francisco de Vacaria, in jure canonico licentiatis, cum pluribus aliis*. To Etienne de Montigny we have already referred. Symon Chappitault was curé of St. Benoît from 1460 to 1466. Dyonisio Commitis is Denis le Comte, while François de Vacquerie is one of Villon's legatees. In 1463 François Ferrebouc was unwittingly the cause of Villon's outlawry. From a *lettre de rémission* granted in November, 1463, by Louis XI to a certain Robin Dogis we learn that François Villon came to visit Robin Dogis in his house in the Rue des Parcheminiers and asked if he could give him some supper. Robin agreed and Rogier Pichart and Hutin du Moustier supped with them. When they had finished, between 7 and 8 o'clock the whole party left to spend the evening in Villon's room. On their way they passed by François Ferrebouc's office in the Rue Saint Jacques. As often happened in those days, the law clerks were working overtime. Rogier Pichart jeered at the clerks writing inside and spat through

the window. The clerks thereupon dashed out and attacked the party. Hutin, shouting 'Murder!' was being dragged inside when François Ferrebouc sallied forth to see what was the matter. He collided with Dogis and knocked him down. Dogis quickly got up, stabbed Ferrebouc (or Ferrebourg, as he is described in the document), and then went over to Pichart *qui estoit devant l'église collegiale de Saint Benoist le Bien-torné*. He told him he was *ung tres mauvais paillart* and went home. Villon, who, apparently, had taken a very minor part in the affair, was recognised by Ferrebouc, to whom he was almost certainly well known. Villon, Dogis and Hutin were imprisoned in the Châtelet while Pichart sought refuge in the Couvent des Cordeliers. The lieutenant criminel, Pierre de la Dehors, who had succeeded Martin Bellefaye a few months earlier, probably gave Hutin a light sentence, condemned Villon *à estre pendu et estranglé*, probably did the same for Dogis and, a year later for Pichart as well. In the letter of pardon we see it stated that he is *en grant dangier de sa personne* unless he receives the royal pardon which was granted him. Villon, who had had but a slight part in the whole affair, felt keenly the injustice of his sentence, and boldly took the risk of appealing to Parlement. On 5th January, 1463, Parlement quashed his sentence, but in view of his chequered past he was banished for ten years from Paris and its immediate surroundings. After this date there is no further record of Villon. What he did and where he went are quite unknown. In all probability his remaining years were not many. In the Journal of Jean de Roye we learn that Louis XI, in an effort to increase the declining population of Paris, offered, in 1467, to forgive murder, theft and most crimes except treason to anyone who would come back and live in Paris. We may, perhaps, conjecture that Villon was dead by then, as it is unlikely that he would have missed so promising an opportunity of returning once again, a free man, to the Paris that he loved so well, and especially to Saint Benoît, with which he had been in such intimate association during the greater part of his life.

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A NEW CYPRIANIC FRAGMENT.

By M. BÉVENOT, S.J.,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, HEYTHROP COLLEGE, CHIPPING NORTON, OXON.

THE existence of the letter which is here published for the first time was first reported by H. Schenkl in his *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica*, VII (Sitzb. Ak. Wiss. Wien, vol. 133, 1895, p. 71). There, in his list of MSS. in the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, he gives the contents of a fifteenth-century MS. of St. Cyprian's works, which he numbers 3407. Ten treatises come first, then follow the letters, the second of which is the subject of these pages. Apparently nothing more has ever been published about it, and no one save the late Abbot Ramsay, whose preliminary work on a projected new edition of Cyprian is preserved at Downside Abbey, has investigated the matter further. The Abbot's notes have formed the starting-point of the present research.

A. The Manuscript : Holkham 121.

In *A Handlist of the MSS. in the Library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall*, annotated by Seymour de Ricci (*Bibliographical Society*, 1932), the entry is as follows :

121 S. Cyprianus Epistolae. Vel. and pap. (XVth c.) Bernardino Trevisani coll. cf. H. Schenkl, p. 71.

It was apparently acquired by Thomas Coke, Lord Lovell, Viscount Coke of Holkham and first Earl of Leicester, when as a young man he travelled on the Continent with his tutor, Dr. Thomas Hobart, and between the years 1715 and 1718 collected some seven hundred volumes which he added to the existing library at Holkham Hall. In 1717 he acquired some valuable books from the collection of Bernardino Trevisani in Venice, and among them, apparently, this codex of St. Cyprian's works. Since that date it has remained in the same library.¹

¹ Lord Leicester kindly allowed the MS. to be sent to the Bodleian, Oxford, for the present writer's convenience (1937). To him, to the authorities there, and to Mr. C. W. James, the librarian at Holkham, the most sincere thanks are due.

It is a large quarto of no great thickness, made up of gatherings of six double leaves, the outer and the inner ones of each gathering being of parchment, the four inner ones of paper. Only the parchment folios are numbered throughout, the intervening paper folios bearing no number (except those up to 17, in a later hand). There are 128 folios of text, *i.e.* eleven gatherings, of which the last has had three folios removed from it, and what is now its last folio is blank.

The writing shows an Italian hand at work, but the codex was never finished off, for though the *Incipits* and *Explicits* are all there in red, the spaces left for illuminated initials have never been filled in.

The following is the list of its contents, numbered according to the Vienna Corpus (Hartel) :

I	IV	VI	V	VII	VIII	XI	X	XII	XIII
58	<i>Silv</i>	10	63	6	55	28	37	11	38
39	60	76	73	71	70	XIV	74	69	67
64	2	13	<i>dlm</i>	43	65	52	1	56	3
47	45	48	44	61	46	57	59	40	4
72	51	54	32	12	30	II	66	<i>cena</i>	IX

Though *Silv*¹ is found only in this fifteenth-century MS., there is a clear trace of it in N (Monte Cassino 204) of the eleventh century, and a comparison of these MSS. with those related to them suggests a still greater antiquity.² These pages, however, are solely concerned with the text itself, and with the question whether it could have come from Cyprian's pen.

B. The Text.

fol. 53v.]

Cipriani Silvano Regino et Donatiano incipit.

Ciprianus dominis meis fratribus (sanctissimis) atque dilectissimis incomparabili caritate et mutua dilectione connexis, Silvano Regino Donatiano in domino salutem.

- 5 Inter maximam leticiam votorum meorum de vestris inco-
lunitatibus perceptam : ut de inconcussa fidei vestrae
virtute quam habetis in Christo Jesu, per quam sentio etiam

¹ The new letter, *ad Silvanum*, etc.

² A study of the relations between these MSS. is in preparation.

- mihi delictis multis obnoxio in tam multum prodesse
 sanctis atque immaculatis vestris precibus, pro me ad deum
 10 emissis, veniam delictorum mihi a domino esse tributam.
 In tanta igitur exultatione qua de vobis glorior; quod
 dignum memoriae orationumstrarum habere dignemini,
 in una tantummodo parte contristor: quod litteris vestris
 aspernimini pusilitatem meam resalutare [fol. 54] de quibus
 15 spero semper fomenta spiritualia recipere, quotiens dignum
 judicaveritis scripto vestro plenam mihi repraesentare
 affectionem. Ego enim non praetermittam ullam occasionem
 scribendi vobis, quominus assiduitate ipsa commoneam vos
 ad scribendum, unde et utilitatis et salutis perfruar emolu-
 20 mentum. Salutate sanctissimas sorores nostras (benedictas)
 Metucosam et Valeriam, quas vobiscum in cursu et stadio
 sanctitatis deus custodiat: et ad effectum laudis gloriae
 perducatur, ut vestris precibus possimus condonari, cum
 coeperit in vobis virginitas honorari.
 25 Opto vos bene valere et mei meminisse. Valete.

CIPRIANI SILVANO REGINO ET DONATIANO Explicit.

Notes :

2 sanctissimis : in margin.

6 ut : perhaps *et*.

7 per quam : one word—*perquam*?

8 tam multum : ? No subject to prodesse. (*tumultum*?)

12 dignum < me > memoriae.

14 aspernimini : no doubt *aspernamini*.

20 benedictas : in margin.

21 Metucosam : any connection with Ep. 21, 3 *Etecusam*
 (ettecusam; et recusam MSS.)?

C. Comments.

1. The general impression is that of a short note of greetings and of congratulations, together with a request for a reply, already long overdue. The three men addressed seemed to have been submitted to torture for their faith, but have escaped death without any weakening on their part. The writer is filled with a holy affection for them, as also for the two ladies who, in their

pursuit of sanctity, have dedicated themselves to a life of virginity. One cannot entirely exclude the possibility that we have here only the beginning and the end of a longer letter, especially as the latter part of the first sentence is certainly corrupt, and may be the result of a lacuna of indeterminable length. The general tone of the letter, however, justifies one in neglecting this as a mere possibility and no more: everything points to its private, personal character, where no long development need be expected.

2. The two marginal additions, in a different hand (l. 2 *sanctissimas*; l. 20 *benedictas*) suggest that the MS. being copied was difficult to read and that they were made by the diorthotes. They are not sheer inventions.

3. Lines 6-8 present a corrupt text. One or two suggestions are made in the Notes, but it is impossible to restore the original construction.

4. In line 12, the loss of *me* before *memoriae* is a very satisfying suggestion which is due to Fr. J. Crehan, S.J. (His are likewise the emendations *et* (l. 6) and *perquam* (l. 7).

5. *Pusilitas mea* (l. 14) is interesting, as it is of rare occurrence among such regular formality titles as *mea mediocritas*, *reverentia vestra*, etc. Du Cange quotes an example from Bede, and the only earlier instances of its use, which the present writer has traced, occur (i) in a letter of Pope AGATHO (A.D. 680) (cf. Mansi, XI 242C; Migne, P.L. 87, 1169D), in a passage which was later borrowed by the Pseudo-Isidore, and fathered by him on three different early Popes (cf. Migne, P.L. 130: 174, 198, 614)¹; and (ii) in a letter of LUCIANUS, a priest of Caphargamala, near Jerusalem, written in or shortly after 415, and translated from the Greek, at the time, by Avitus of Braga (Migne, P.L. 41, 807): "[Visio] quae apparuit *meae pusillitati* a Deo ter, de revelatione reliquiarum," etc.

Hence the "title" which occurs in *Silv* can be paralleled at least from the beginning of the fifth century.²

¹ Hinschius: *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, pp. cxxvii, 179-180, 205-6, 454. That part of the passage which contains *pusillitas mea* was also placed by him on the lips of Pope Symmachus († 514) speaking at one of his Roman synods, *id.* p. 683.

² These references have been traced with the help of *Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography to 543 A.D.* (Catholic University of America,

6. Lines 20-24. Apart from the inscription of the letter, this sentence is the only part of the letter which provides a possible link with the Cyprianic correspondence as we know it. In the two letters that passed between Celerinus (in Rome) and Lucianus (in Africa) there is question of two ladies named Numeria and Candida. One of them is said by Celerinus (*ep.* 21, 3 ; 531, 17) to have always been called by him *Etecusa* (this is Hartel's reading ; his critical apparatus reads : " ettecusam Tϕ ; et recusam w).¹ This name has a certain likeness to the strange *Metucosa* of our letter, and may be due to a copyist's error, e.g. " hanc ipsā Metecusam " having become " hanc ipsam Etecusam."

The situation then in *Ep.* 21 would be this. Candida was generally believed to have offered sacrifice. But Celerinus maintains that she never did. She only went half-way up the Capitol and there bribed an official to give her a certificate of sacrifice, and returned without having publicly denied her Christianity. For this reason, Celerinus has always regarded her as still sharing (μετέχουσα ?) in the Christian communion. We can suppose the name to have stuck, and that Cyprian used it in *Silv*, though in the course of centuries of transcription it became *Metucosa* in the Holkham MS. On this supposition, *Silv* must have been written later than *Ep.* 21 and 22.

One is at the same time tempted to identify *Valeria* with *Numeria*, especially as we know that an alias might be based on the original name, the same scansion and ending being retained (cf. Catullus's *Lesbia* to represent *Clodia*).

7. Line 25. Professor Souter, whose generous help has been invaluable in compiling these notes, has summed up his view of

Patristic Studies, vol. xxi) by Sister Mary Bridget O'Brien, M.A. (Washington, D.C., 1930). Another example there given from Ruricius, Bishop of Limoges († 507) (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant.* 8 : 299, 22 ; Migne, P.L. 58, 69), cannot be admitted, because it is plainly no such " title " as is here under consideration, but from the context is meant to be taken literally. Otherwise, we must see " titles," too, in the expressions *meae infirmitatis*, *aegritudini meae* and *languori meo* (!) which occur in the same letter.

¹ Benson (pp. 74-75) is inclined to read *Tecusam*, and takes this to be her real name. He considers *Numeria* to be a sobriquet given her by Celerinus because, as he writes of her, " pro se dona numeravit ne sacrificaret." But the person referred to seems definitely to be Candida, and the incident was so recent that the nickname could not have been used earlier in the letter, without comment, and only explained later.

the text of the letter, in a private communication, thus : " I have read the letter with some care and find nothing inconsistent with Cyprian except that he always says '*nostri meminisse*' never '*mei meminisse*'." This is indeed true of all the cases where the closing formula of his letters has been preserved. But, after all, the letters which have survived are all of an official character, and the majority were deliberately published by Cyprian himself. He uses the ' majestic ' *we* liberally in them all. But we have no example of the short personal notes that he must have written in abundance to his friends, which were not meant for the general public and with which this one might be compared. One is permitted, therefore, to conjecture that where he dropped the use of the ' majestic ' or ' episcopal ' *we* in the text of his letters, he concluded them in the same familiar way with " *Opto vos bene valere et mei meminisse*". This phrasing is in keeping with the general tone already referred to, and both phrasing and tone with the fact that the letter never reached, or did not retain its place in, any of the surviving collections of letters save this one.

8. Lines 23-24. The closing lines of the letter itself are a clear echo of the end of Cyprian's *De Habitu Virginum* 24 (Hartel, 205, 4) : " *Tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in vobis virginitas honorari*". Quite apart from the similarity of the wording, the essential thought is the same : the writer begs that when those he is addressing are enjoying (in heaven) the glory that will crown their lives of chastity, they may not forget him in their prayers.

In a passage of the *De Laude Martyrii* 30 (Hartel, 51, 12), the same thought finds similar expression, but martyrdom now replaces virginity : " *Tamen erit hoc benivolentiae vestrae, erit caritatis et amoris, si volueritis nostri memores esse cum in vobis Dominus martirium coeperit honorare*". (A discussion of the authorship of this treatise would be out of place here.)

9. Lastly, a small point which obviously calls for attention is whether our letter observes the rules of the *clausulae* in the way that Cyprian's work generally does. Anyone with a sense of metrico-rhythmical prose will at once feel that the writer was fully conscious of the existence of such rules. *Dilectione connexis—habere dignemini—parte contristor—virginitas honorari* are all in

the best style and *repraesentare affectionem* might perhaps be added to them. On the other hand, there are three hexameter endings : *esse tributam* ;—*emolumentum* (though even Cicero uses single words, in this way, as also pairs of words beginning with a monosyllable) ; and *mei meminisse* (which, however, occurs in a stereotyped formula, and should not enter into consideration here). There remain some five other phrase-endings which do not seem to conform to any rule.

It is to be remembered that in Cyprian's works there are many non-metrical or non-rhythmical endings (quite apart from Scripture quotations). Perhaps at that time no such need was felt to adhere rigidly to the rules as was felt later, for instance, by St. Leo and others ; indeed, it may be that an occasional break in the rhythmic flow was considered a good thing, in order to avoid a lulling monotony.

In any case, the nature of the clause-endings in our letter—a minority clearly stamped, the majority haphazard—provides no grounds for denying its authorship to Cyprian. It was written by a man who had a feel for the rhythmic-ending, one to whom the necessary phrasing would tend to come naturally ; but in a simple note like this, written to friends without any idea of publication he would not go out of his way to look for the well-formed phrase, but would put down his thoughts as they came. That "correct" *clausulae* appear in a notable proportion—especially at the beginning and at the end of the letter—would go to show that he had it in him to do much better, had he tried. But there was no reason why he should.

D. Conclusion.

Our study takes us little further than to enable us to say that this letter, in part corrupt, is preserved in a good collection of Cyprianic letters without anything to suggest its having been intruded there ; that it can certainly be traced beyond the eleventh century, and probably much further back ; and that nothing in it positively excludes it from being the work of Cyprian himself. If we add to this the fact that its intrinsic insignificance excludes all probability of its having been concocted and ascribed to Cyprian with some ulterior motive, we have reasonable grounds for holding that we here have a new fragment which deserves to be included among the genuine works of St. Cyprian.

THE PLACE OF THE SMALL STATE IN THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA.¹

By T. FISH, Ph.D.,

LECTURER IN THE SEMITIC DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
MANCHESTER.

THE fate of small states is front-page news just now. The long deep shadows cast by the great states have blacked out the little states. So much so that the latter feel that if they do not somehow struggle back to the light they will perish utterly.

This is not the occasion for a discussion of this matter in relation to the present and future politics and culture of our time and world. But the student of history knows that this aspect, at least, of contemporary history is ancient history also. Jerusalem knew it and debated it within the borders of her handkerchief state when threatened by the expanding power of Egypt or Assyria or Babylonia, as also of Persia or Greece or Rome. Indeed, devotion to the little thing as against the big thing, in respect of states, is one of the characteristics of political sentiment in the past. And it does not seem to be a waste of time to attempt to understand, in the light of considerable evidence, some of the reasons for this devotion in an area and during a period in which the small political unit was everywhere, commanded intense loyalty, survived long, and gave to that period and that area all the culture then and there attained.

Documentation decides that we select from the wide area known as the Near East, the valley of the Euphrates, and the Tigris. Not only because historical record from this part of the Ancient Near East is more abundant, and more intelligible, than historical records elsewhere, but also because the historical records of the kind we need for our enquiry begin earlier here than elsewhere. There are extant from the 3rd millennium B.C.,

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 8th of December, 1943.

records in quantity adequate for the definition of the cultural and political pattern of the time. And they permit us to compare the pattern of that early time with the pattern of the later times down to the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. Such comparison will not be made on this occasion. It must suffice to say that, in respect of small states, what is true of the 3rd millennium is true of the succeeding years : the small state was *the* unit of citizenship and of culture, and remained so even under what are described as " Empires ".

Parenthetically, it is my personal opinion that in respect of Israel, we are not able to say with certainty that the social forms and the ideas behind them in Israel, were derived from those which obtained amongst the not-so-neighbouring peoples of the Tigris and Euphrates Valley. Nevertheless it is the fact that an understanding of the small state and of its meaning in Mesopotamia is of service to any who wish to understand certain details in the political history of Israel.

There is evidence that the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates was well populated about the year 3000 B.C. Men had settled along the banks of the greater and smaller rivers, and beside artificial canals.

The size of these settlements must have varied according to the capacity of the site to maintain life. A few of them have been excavated. But, as yet, it is not possible to define the exact limits of sites in the early historical period. A few relevant details seem certain, e.g. that at Ur, the sacred core, the *temenos*, wherein were religious and important civic buildings, covered, at an early date, 400 by 200 square yards ; that at Lagash, during the first half of the 3rd millennium, the property owned by the temple, the chief landowner, covered four to five square miles ; but most of this must have been outside the city walls. The area occupied and worked by the settlers was not, even at its largest, very extensive ; and, in the early days, even during the historical period proper, it must have been small.

Of the size of the population settled on any site, even guess-work is not possible. So long as there are no deciding elements to help us, we are unable to determine the numbers of population. Elements such as the arable area, the limits of population

which that area would maintain, the size of the armies and the source of recruitment, are not yet available. An early king of Lagash says that he had 36,000 men under his control, and another says he was shepherd of a great multitude. It has been estimated that one temple at Lagash, c. 2700 B.C., employed 1200 persons. But such figures suggest problems, they do not solve them. We can, however, say that the numbers were manageable and could be accommodated within the city's walls in times of festival or of siege. And the point to be stressed is that the small town was the predominant feature of that early time.

We need not fear anachronism if we approach the study of these settlements of long ago in ancient Mesopotamia, convinced that we are dealing with men who were much as are men to-day. The former prejudice which assumed that folk of long ago must have behaved differently from folk of to-day, just because they were different from those of to-day, was pardonable but it was an error. There is the opinion of scientists to the effect that there is no measurable difference between the faculties of men born thousands of years ago, and those of the average man of to-day. Sir Richard Gregory, F.R.S., in the course of a lecture given in March, 1943, declared: "In spite of all individual and social developments, the specific characters of civilized man are the same as they were six thousand years ago or even before that period. Each generation starts with the same natural instincts. . . . The social and the cultural conditions change in space and time, but human nature remains in most respects unaltered." And historical evidence leaves no doubt that the differences between then and now, in respect of human 'psychology' and 'sociology', are, in the main, accidental and not substantial differences. Means may have been improved; the ends seem to be unimproved. Accordingly we seem justified in starting our enquiry not from things, but from man, as did the great Swiss historian Burckhardt who declared that he started out "from the one eternal centre of all things: man, suffering, striving, doing; as he is, and was, and ever shall be".

Of man in ancient Mesopotamia, c. 3000 B.C., we are able to-day to say what not so long ago would have been matter for

ridicule : he was civilized. Whatever reservations they might make in respect of Greece and Rome, and their respective civilizations, some writers on ancient history seem to have assumed that before Greece and Rome, barbarism reigned everywhere. A time so long before Alexander as we to-day are after him, must, they seemed to think, have been a very dark age. But excavations of sites on the Euphrates, the Habur, and the Tigris have shown that by 3000 B.C., man had made considerable progress in technical skill. We may cite the town of Ur as witness. Our chief authority, Sir Leonard Woolley, director of the Joint Expedition which excavated the site, has summarized the mass of relevant data in his volume : *The Royal Cemetery*. He is sure that at the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C., the citizens of Ur knew the wheel and used it, not only for the making of pottery but also for transport ; that they could cast metal by both the solid and the *cire-perdue* method ; that they could smelt and solder metal ; they worked on bronze, electrum, silver, gold. The specimens of their workmanship which have been recovered *in situ*, of the period c. 3000 B.C., in the tombs at Ur, have won the surprised admiration of the best craftsmen of our time. Further, in the matter of architecture, expert opinion is that their use of bricks has not been surpassed at any time or in any place since their day, and that they were familiar with all the basic forms of architecture as we know it.

The presence at Ur of the materials on which local craftsmen exercised their skill reveals that, at so early a time, there was trade with other lands, some far distant from Ur ; for stone and metals are not native to that area and therefore must have been imported.

In the matter of letters, we need here say only that letters were then known at Ur, and evidences of fairly early attempts to use letters in the service of administration have survived. They witness to contemporary civilization, but are not otherwise very revealing.

What has been said of Ur might be said of other towns in its neighbourhood : Uruk, Lagash, Kish, Shuruppak, and of sites not yet uncovered. It is obvious that such artistic activity, in the crafts and in letters, and such commerce with the world

beyond local frontiers, imply a unity with a binding agent, authority. Tradition, the local memory set down in later years, was certain that kings ruled at Ur and at other sites, c. 3000 B.C. The tradition is confirmed by local and contemporary evidence. This disposes us to accept the tradition that there was kingship in the land even earlier.

There can, therefore, be no doubt that as soon as we meet him, man in the early historical, and even the pre-historical period, dwelling in the small towns by river and canal in ancient Mesopotamia, was already acquainted with civilization. He had made considerable advance in the craft of living within small areas subject to political authority, and had begun to set down royal names and daily business in writing. In brief, man in those parts was both civilized and organized. And there is evidence that what is true of man in the part of ancient Mesopotamia known as Sumer, is true of man in the more northerly and westerly parts, known later as Assyria and Syria.

As the 3rd millennium proceeds, documentation increases. Local archives containing many royal inscriptions and administration records beyond numbering, have been recovered. On the evidence of these we can describe the pattern of local society as it was early in the 3rd millennium, and as it remained till close to the Christian era. The local communities were states rather than nations. For if, with some authorities, we define a nation as an ethnic unity inhabiting a geographical unity, having in common language, tradition and racial origins, then at no time during the historical period were there nations in the area known as Syria and Mesopotamia. But if we describe states as "organized expressions of the community", then these communities can be described as states.

They were feudal states in that they were built upon a hierarchy of social relations. In the contemporary social system at the top was the supreme ruler, the chief god of the place. He was also the largest owner of property. Below him and his family, was the *isag* or *lugal* and his family, the visible political chief, possessing wealth exceeding that of any other group within the community. Lower in the social scale were the soldier class, with property claims in return for service at

arms, and the several classes of functionaries and the common wage-earning labourers engaged on temple affairs and property. Below all were the slave class, with definite obligations of service to their masters, but lacking complete economic freedom. It is this hierarchy of function and of wealth that is revealed so clearly in the documents found at Lagash from the first half of the 3rd millennium, by the patient and exhaustive studies of Pater Deimel, S.J. We cannot say how long this system had been a-growing, but as it was in the early period so it remained till the end, unchanged in substance for more than two thousand years.

The population was, as we have said, by our standards small, and confined within a small area. Hence those on top were not remote from those at the bottom of the social scale. The importance of this is not merely that control by those on top was easy, but also that those at the bottom were sensible of that control. The result is that unity of power and of sentiment was complete.

But though the populations of these small towns had a sense of unity, the documents make it clear that they had no common name by which to express a large unity of persons, such as we use when we speak of ourselves as Englishmen or Britishers, or of others as Germans, Italians, Americans and the like. That is, they had no feeling for any national group. During the three millennia of pre-Christian history, men in ancient Mesopotamia were men of Ur, of Kish, of Babylon, of Assur. They had no sense of country. They had a sense only of town or city ; of the walled area around which were the farm lands which supported life, and the pastures for the flocks, and within which was the shrine of the god.

The shrine of the god. It is this which is the heart of the matter. It is this which explains the place of the small states in the minds and the hearts of men, and therefore in the politics of the ancient Near East. The peoples inhabiting these small centres thought of their settlements not merely as places where they themselves lived, but, and primarily, as places where the deity had chosen to dwell. The small state was, therefore, a temple-state. We talk of the geography behind history, and we proceed to describe how men throughout recorded time

have chosen to settle where best his needs, of sustenance and of defence, could be met. But the Sumerian and the Semite thought rather of divinity behind geography. Not only had the gods made the land in which man had his workshop and his dormitory, but the gods had chosen sites where their own needs, of food and of worship, could best be served by those whom the gods had made.

The idea of choice of peoples by gods, and of residence amongst his chosen people by the deity, is well known to us from the Old Testament which has it that a god chose a people, and also a land in which they should serve him as he would. It was an idea current elsewhere in the neighbouring lands. And we neglect it at our peril, for, if we neglect this fact of contemporary "theology", we shall miss the inspiration and the background of both non-Semitic and Semitic civilization and achievement and aspiration.

The idea is pictorially expressed in the writing of the old names of some of the oldest towns on the Euphrates and the Tigris. For the name of the ancient city of Nippur, the peoples wrote: "place of the god Enlil"; for that of Larsa, "the place of the abode of the sun-god"; for that of Nina, "the place of Nina"; for Drehem, "house of the Puzur of the god Dagan". Shuruppak, the centre of Sumerian flood story, is "the place of the god Sukurru"; as was Assur "the place of the god Assur". A Sumerian king list of early Erech, gives, as the oldest name of the place, "Eanna", house of the god of heaven.

But the deities had their servants, of whom the chief was the head man of the place, *isag* or *lugal*. "Kingship descended from heaven" is the Sumerian formula which summarizes the belief current everywhere in those old days. The belief is stated in more detail on royal inscriptions of the early 3rd millennium B.C. and of every age down to the end. Thus, early documents from Lagash describe the head man of the place after this fashion: his name was pronounced, i.e. he was nominated, by the chief god of the land of Sumer, Enlil; he was endowed with strength by the chief god of Lagash, Ningirsu; he was nourished on holy milk by Ninharsag, the mother of gods and of men, particularly of kings; and he was endowed with wisdom by the god Enki/Ea, who knows all things.

Such statements were, no doubt, statements of current faith. They reveal how the rulers of these small states thought of themselves in relation to the gods, or rather of the gods to themselves. In later times Hammurabi of Babylon, and the great kings of Nineveh, uttered like sentiments in their own hearts, and published them for the edification of their peoples. And if, for a time, rulers were content to eschew much speaking and use only the sign for divinity before their written names, they did but use a shorthand for the more verbose conceits of others.

Such was the conception of the source of kingly power. And the current idea of kingly function is in line with this. The king, whether of small town or large kingdom, was "nominated" by the gods to be a sort of "tenant farmer" of the domain of the deity. He was to "nourish" the place. Quite early in the historical period, we find the *isag* of Lagash and his wife administering the property of the chief city gods. Other temples on the site, dedicated to lesser deities, were administered by a *sangu*, a sort of priest (though that word is to be used with great caution, so much does it convey in our time), and head manager. But *the* administrator in chief, to whom all others were subordinate, and from whom they held their office, was the great man of the place, for he alone had been called to represent the head-god who had made his abode there.

The kings, as "nourishers" of cities and temples, restored old temples and built new ones, thereby causing the gods and goddesses to dwell in "the dwellings of their hearts' content". And so that the land of the gods might bear food in plenty for the deities and their servants, they "dug out canals and supplied never-ending abundance of fresh water, to the city and the land". Thus they fulfilled that which had been purposed and revealed to them on the omen bricks whereon was written the good pleasure of the gods.

"All that was seemly" the kings performed for the gods. "When the god Ningirsu, the stout warrior of Enlil, had conferred royalty in Lagash on Urukagina, and had established his might in the midst of a very large number of men, then the king restored the old statutes (of the god of the city), and gave force once more to the word which his king Ningirsu had spoken".

The text continues with a list of reforms, or returns to normal, instituted by Urukagina, in favour of the army, of boatmen, fishermen, farmers, shepherds, and of public security and morals. Even the royal family itself restored wrongly appropriated property, and so strengthened the royal hand against other exploiters of temple property and private devotion.

A later chief of the same town of Lagash includes under the head of circumstances seemly to the gods, the following: the whip smote not; the thong smote not; the mother did not strike her child for aught; distaffs of wool were in the hands of the prefect, the overseer, the steward, the driver of those at work, for purposes of punishment. There was no lamentation in the city's cemetery, for there were no dead to be buried, and so, no need for the psalmist to bring his drum, no cause for wailing or for wailing women. Within the boundary of Lagash, any man who had a lawsuit did not lay it at court. Usurers did not enter men's houses. The royal duty of godliness embraced both gods and men.

From this—and other evidence could be cited to the same effect—it is clear that the small state revolved about what we may call a moral axis. The local deity was not one who ignored the world. On the contrary, the local deity needed the world, and its flora and fauna, and the humans who peopled the place of his choice. So much so that the deity was prepared to use force, and to defend his overall rights. To this end he put force into the hands of his earthly representatives as a means of defence of his home, and of his right to command and to possess. As for the people whom he had chosen, both kings and subjects existed for the gods. The authority within society derived from the gods; the representative of the gods wielded authority not as a right but as a duty, which he must perform in accordance with the intention imposed from above.

Such were the notions which rulers and subjects alike accepted in those small states for several thousand years. This common, unquestioned, theological-political theory is, substantially, the theory enunciated in mediæval times by St. Thomas Aquinas: *Homo non ordinatur ad communitatem politicam secundum se et totum et secundum omnia sua. Sed totum quod*

homo est, et quod potest et quod habet, ordinandum est ad Deum (Summa Theol. 1-11, 21, 4 ad 3). And it was that principle, more than hinted at in documents of the centuries of ancient Near Eastern history, that gave society its unity and provided a working basis of harmony within the contemporary social organism.

We see, therefore, the small states as societies grouped round their chief local deity and his visible representative, the king. They were built not on the rights of any individual member, of high or low station, but on the rights of the gods for whom the states existed. The fact that the theory worked out in ways, superstitious and tyrannous, which violate our modern modes, is irrelevant. Those small states were, whatever their imperfections, a spiritual principle in action. The population possessed in common a heritage weighty with memories, especially memories of divine election and providence. The people desired to live together around the central shrine of their deity. They willed to preserve their heritage to future generations. They would have endorsed the words of the poem by the negro farm-wife, Louisiana Dunn Thomas: "We are tenants of the Almighty, entrusted with a portion of His earth to dress and keep and pass on to the next generation". We may say that the area of local sentiment was coterminous with the area of the residence and the property of the local deity.

With this common outlook went a common moral enthusiasm. Its focus was the local deity, and its preservation and deepening was the function of kings. Inevitably this enthusiasm, this sense of divinely protected all-togetherness for divine purposes, must have had its effect on economic output. Of course it is open to anyone to assert that the "moral" theories were invented to camouflage economic greed on the part of the ruling civil and religious classes. And no doubt the contemporary and general religious beliefs could and did serve the economic interests of sections of the community. But no sufficient reason exists for denial of the evidence, which is in moral terms. The contemporary theory answered the question: who is the owner of the community's wealth? And that is not an economic question; it is a juridical, a moral question.

To that moral question the citizens of that old time answered in moral terms.

The population had undoubtedly a vested interest in the social structure and economic well-being of their small town. This would promote co-operation. But co-operation is the more likely to be realized when the population respond emotionally to a common symbol which civic activity is designed to serve. Such a symbol, deity, existed and evoked emotional reaction, patriotism. It seems likely that the deity plus the emotion directed to it, are, in great part, the cause of that amazing productivity of the land to which thousands of extant temple records bear witness. To be sure, the soil in those parts was naturally fertile. But this fertility of soil was but the condition, it was not the operative, determining cause of the efforts and achievements in agriculture which the documents reveal. It is not without interest to note that this high level of achievement on the local farms was maintained throughout the three millennia before the Christian era, and did not cease to be until the local cults had ceased, and a more universal and remote focus of living was substituted.

It would not be surprising if some were to think that in this paper we are guilty of 'modernizing' the ancients. It may be so. But the evidence from the early historical period is such that the burden of proof is on those who would make a great gulf between the old and the modern. What a surprise it was to discover that the natives of southern Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium B.C. attained to an unexpected development in arithmetic and geometry! Who would have suspected that Pythagoras' theorem about the square on the hypotenuse was in use in Babylonia about the year 2000 B.C.? Such attainments in this field are highly suggestive, but the point to be stressed here is that the beginnings of all this development are to be traced to the practical needs of the administration of temple property: the careful measurement of the fields of cultivation, and the accurate accounting of income and expenditure, within the limits of the small town. Indeed whatever of civilization later and larger powers in the Euphrates-Tigris Valley possessed, B.C., had its beginnings in the small-town state. This is common-

place in respect of religion, for the 'religion' favoured and followed by the kings of later Babylon and Nineveh was in the essentials of gods, beliefs, and cult practices, that which obtained in the little towns stretched along the river and canal banks in the 3rd millennium. So also, in respect of the cuneiform script, which survived till close to the Christian era. And in respect of art, there is nothing in the later native art which surpasses, if indeed it equals, the artistic products of the little towns of the 3rd millennium.

In the matter of culture, it is nearly the whole truth to say that had it not been for the pioneer work in the small towns, and the conservation and development of what had been achieved under the petty kings, there would have been no culture at all. For good or for evil, Assyria, and, indeed, all the 'imperialist' powers had no intention of going about over the face of the earth, doing good to any but to themselves. The idea of promoting any distinctive home-made culture of their own never occurred to them, for the essential bases of their culture were shared by all the peoples with whom they came into contact and into conflict: this-worldliness, polytheism, kingship and slavery. All these began in the little towns, in the temple-states. The most that the large state could do was to protect culture. Assyria may have done that. Assurbanipal did so in respect of native literature of the past. But certainly Assyria created nothing that was cultural. Off her own bat she gave nothing to the world of permanent value. At most she was a carrier of that which she had not created to lands and peoples who preferred their own and native traditions.

Long before Assyria, attempts were made to bring into being the big thing, the master-state. Small town tried to dominate small town; to unite others to itself, either by conquest or by alliance. Such attempts were made by Agade, Ur, Isin, Larsa in the 3rd millennium; by Babylon in the 2nd millennium; and by Assyria, and again by Babylon in the 1st millennium. These efforts were inevitable, given the local-deity dynamic. That same identification of place and of citizens with the god of the town dictated the effort to extend the boundaries of the god and, thereby, his wealth. But it dictated also the opposition to all such trespass.

Hammurabi's famous code of laws, and the intention behind that codification, and his considerable correspondence with his agents scattered about his kingdom, suggest that he attempted to unify the administrative power of the neighbouring world by law, administration and public improvement ; a thing which Rome later effected, on a much larger scale and with more success over a longer period of time.

Under Assyria, her soldiers and officials occupied garrisons and administered conquered lands. But her army seems to have been an Assyrian army. Although on occasion outsiders were conscripted for service, the source of recruitment was, apparently, almost entirely from that unity called the land of Assur. But it is not known whether, and to what extent, the peoples of the conquered territories shared the privileges of citizenship with the original Assyrians.

Under such " empires ", the cities were left with their private laws and institutions, and above all, with their private gods. In Assyrian inscriptions we read that local deities were sometimes carried away by the conqueror to Assyria, and there presented, with the royal compliments, to some one of the chief Assyrian gods or goddesses. But this was done only after the place had been laid waste, and the people either slain or deported. If the deity were allowed to remain with his people in his own home, he does not seem to have been subject to any other deity or to any earthly representative of another deity. We may say that Assyria did but impose an economic bondage which did not invalidate—at least in Assyrian eyes—local religious autonomy. In this she was merely following an older practice which can be discerned in the times of the Agade dynasty whose kings, coming, apparently, from outside the area they subdued, themselves submitted in word and deed to the established religious order.

It was customary to defend aggression on religious grounds, as, for example, that the territory of the deity had been violated, or that the deity had ordered the violation of the territory of another deity, or that the deity of one place had invited the ruler and his armies of another town to restore his cult in his chosen site. But such trespass, however divinely mooted, was, where possible, opposed by those whose territory was invaded.

Throughout the entire history of the Near East in pre-Christian times, the small states fought to defend their independence against the states which wished to make them part of a larger unity and to recover their independence should it have been lost.

And the plain fact of that ancient history is that the big powers found it difficult to hold down the small town states. The reason seems to be this: so long as men believed that the local deity was the rightful and only owner of a town and of its properties, so long was supreme, effective authority from one centre difficult, if not impossible, for long. A central authority, located in another town, could be effective either by force—which always provoked counter-force—or by persuasion, by bribes to local temples—and this had only a temporary effect. Each small-town state seems to have been determined to remain substantially autonomous, under its autonomous local god. The local deity might be a minor in the general pantheon. But in the place of his abode, he mattered beyond all others. That piece of earth was his and the fullness thereof. There is point in the tradition that the great Sargon of Agade by taking earth from the city of Babylon angered Marduk to whom all Babylon's earth belonged.

It is tempting to indulge in psychology when treating of these matters. If the local deities were man-made, we may see them as projections of the mentality and the desires of their makers. Now the deities were, in a real sense, independent and sovereign, within the area in which they resided, especially in that area known as the *temenos*, the sacred enclosure, the town's sanctuary. Perhaps, in projecting independent, sovereign deities, with inviolable property, the people of ancient Sumer, Akkad, Babylonia and Assyria, and of other states great and small, uncovered their own will to be themselves sovereign and independent. If so, then the deities were, so to say, instruments serving the instincts of their worshippers, and so supplied a psychological need. And the other notion that the deities had divided the world into groups with pre-eminent duties towards that god who had elected to dwell amongst them, may reflect a natural desire of the people in one town to be sovereign

amongst groups equally sovereign. Thus the gods would be symbols under which men unified their loyalties. But if the claims of one god clashed with those of another, then the dispute might have to be fought out, under divine protection, on the battlefield. But we are guessing, trying to read through the data to the meaning revealed.

What does all the foregoing add up to? This : in the small communities of which we have evidence, all thinking and action was governed by a common intellectual or emotional ground. In one faith, in the same faith, all were trained. Thought and action drew from a common fund of primary ideas, a common tradition, a common morality. They were true communities.

The enemies were not those cities which had a different deity, or which were of different blood-stock. The enemies were those who showed themselves to be enemies of the local deity, as were the Gutí who carried away kingship from Sumer and took it away to the hills ; or those who undid that which the gods had done, e.g. Umma town which trespassed beyond the boundaries which the gods had defined ; or such as Sargon of Agade who took away merely soil from Babylon, the territory of Marduk.

The temptation to introduce forces of division between themselves and the cities which they wished to dominate must have pressed hard on states which felt superior. Any such efforts had to reckon with local sentiment which preferred that the local deity should be a local monopoly, without patronage from without. The frequent rebellions of small states against great were proof of the local will to conserve local culture intact and independent. The attempts to persuade or to compel them to pursue some good of the large state as though higher than and more sacred than that of the small state, were bound to be made, and, equally, were bound to fail, given the beliefs and the emotional dynamic of such beliefs on which the small states were built.

Kings of Agade, of Babylon, of Nineveh might boast that they had conquered other lands and that their deities had prevailed over not only the peoples but also the deities of other lands. But all such boasting did not induce the little-state

folk to abandon their own deity and to transfer worship to the deity of the conqueror.

The little state, presided over by the little god, was the embodiment of civic vision, and the agent of cultural progress, in the hundreds of small communities of the ancient Near East throughout almost the entire period of pre-Christian history. Its place on earth was sure, for, according to local belief, which was never challenged, its foundations were made in heaven and could not be moved. An illusion? Yes! but one of the most powerful of illusions, politically and socially.

THE BOOK OF ST. ALBANS.¹

By E. F. JACOB, M.A., D.PHIL.,

PROFESSOR OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

IT is appropriate that among the lectures which the Librarian arranges here season by season—he has done so now for forty-two years—some at least should be concerned with the treasures of this great library. If its manuscripts and early printed books are dispersed and stored awhile for their protection, it is our duty to keep their memory fresh and lively, so that we may greet them with the greater pleasure on the delectable day when they return to their home in Deansgate.

For the student of the later Middle Ages, or early Renaissance, the incunabula of the John Rylands Library afford rich possibilities, as Dr. Guppy has often pointed out: not least to illustrate the lives and activities of the early printers of this country, and the importance of the stationers and booksellers who disseminated their products. The further one advances into the literary history of the later fifteenth century, the more significant appears the function both of the early printer-editors and of the distributors and middlemen who commissioned and disposed of the works they printed; for the demand for books was undoubted. In a striking little paper published last April, Mr. H. S. Bennett, who has been listing the fifteenth-century manuscripts of English vernacular works in the Cambridge University Library, drew attention to the strength and variety of the demand for reading matter which Caxton found existing in England. 'He found a considerable reading public available, and secondly, he found that this public had been accustomed for half a century at least to read matter of all kinds.'² There was a market for books, whatever their source, and little control over the conditions of their sale; for, as Mr. Gordon Duff once observed, in the early days of English printing, at all events between 1483 and 1533, there was no protecting wall against the

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of March, 1943.

² 'Caxton and his Public', *Review of English Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 74 (April, 1943), p. 119.

undenized alien selling books where he could.¹ In the course of the sixteenth century such an import system came to be felt unfair upon the English, or the resident alien, bookseller, as the wording of the Act of 1533, which curtailed the liberty given to the non-resident alien pedlars of books, suggests.² But in the fifteenth, the demand for books was met along competitive lines, both in London and without. A provincial press in this country at work in those early days must therefore be of considerable interest, especially when it prints in the vernacular.

Among its early *flores* the Rylands possesses three books from a notable provincial, the printer of St. Albans. In re-printing the St. Albans *Chronicles of England* (1497) Wynkyn de Worde called him 'one somtyme scole mayster of Saynt Albons', and as such he is usually known. One of the three is the Book of Hawking, Hunting and the Blasing of Arms, commonly called the *Boke of St. Albans*,³ printed in 1486. Another is the St. Albans version of the *Chronicles of England* printed perhaps three years previously.⁴ These are the only surviving English works of the St. Albans printer, whose first book was the humanistic treatise, Agostino Dati's *Libellus super Tullianis elegantiss* (1479), followed by the thoroughly orthodox medieval Albertus, *Liber methodorum significandi* (1480). That year he printed another well-known work of literary eloquence, the *Rhetorica nova* of the Minorite Lorenzo Traversari of Savona, a copy of which the Rylands possesses. Lorenzo, who had been a pupil of Sixtus IV, gave it the alternative title of *Margarita eloquentiæ*, and the colophon says that it was written in the University of Cambridge. Like Dati's treatise, it is a very Ciceronian pearl. Thus two of the earliest productions from the St. Albans press are works upon composition, introductions to the correct—the new—style, and it was not till the end of the schoolmaster's time

¹ *A Century of the English Book Trade*, p. xv.

² *Stat. Realm*, iii, 456, repealing, owing to the growth in the number of native printers, the Act of 1 Richard III.

³ Copies listed in Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books*, No. 56.

⁴ W. Blades, in his introduction to the *Boke of St. Albans* (p. 17), dated it '1483 [?]'. Mr. Gordon Duff, *Fifteenth Century Printed Books*, p. 29, '[1485]'. In Wynkyn de Worde's edition of 1497, the *compilation* is definitely ascribed to 1483, but there is no indication given of the date of publication.

that he came to his own native tongue. In the middle period are good medieval works on Aristotle, but with these we are not concerned.

Most of this printer's works state that they were printed *Apud villam sancti Albani*. There is no direct evidence that his press was within the abbey precincts, nor indeed that there was any connexion between it and the library of the great house, though the proto-humanism of the abbey under John of Whethamstede is well known, and Thomas Walsingham shows clear signs of it, before the abbot's great days.¹ It is indeed possible that the printer may have drawn certain of his texts from the monastic library, if it was allowed to lend; but when Blades, the editor of the facsimile edition of the *Boke of St. Albans* speaks of 'the St. Albans Chronicle' as issuing from the schoolmaster, it is well to be cautious. Strictly speaking, the term 'St. Albans Chronicle' should be used with the meaning Mr. C. L. Kingsford attached to it; as standing either for the anonymous chronicle of 1422-1431, printed in the Rolls edition of Amundesham, or for the historical entries in abbot John of Whethamstede's *Register*.² The chronicle to which Blades refers is an extended form of the *Chronicles of England* which Caxton printed in 1480 'at the request of dyvers gentylmen', and the basis of this was the *Brut* Chronicle, with the continuations of 1333-1377, 1377-1419, 1419-1461. The schoolmaster made the *Brut* the nucleus of his volume of general history, which he divided into seven parts corresponding with the seven periods of history. The *Brut*, here presented in the translation attributed to John Maundevile, takes up the story from Part IV, and fills the remainder of the book; the earlier parts were drawn, he says, from [in this order] Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bede, Gildas, William of Malmesbury, Cassiodorus, St. Augustine, Titus Livius, Martin of Troppau and Theobaldus Cartusiensis. Now to assume that the schoolmaster was himself the compiler—or anthologist—of the earlier part of his *Chronicles*, borrowing from, or working amid, the books of the abbey, would, I think, be hazardous. It is more likely that he took (for this was his

¹ *The St. Albans Chronicle*, ed. Galbraith, pp. xli-v of the editor's introduction.

² *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 150-151.

method) an existing compilation—he refers to the ‘new translation’ used by him—to combine with the *Brut*, and this view may find support in his title: ‘the Chronicles of England with the fruit of time’. What is the ‘fruit of time’? May it not be the translation of a Latin *Fructus temporum* or popular work on the chronology of history,¹ which he found, ready-made, for his use? If this suggestion is correct, there will not be very much to connect the *Chronicles of England* with the great abbey near which it was printed; and it should be emphasized that the *Brut*, at any rate in its continuations, belongs to a non-monastic cycle: the cycle of history written by laymen for the laity, drawn upon and copied by historians of the City of London, as the editors of the *Great Chronicle* have recently shown.

It is evident that both the *Chronicles* and the *Boke of St. Albans* were destined for the well-to-do laity, the ‘dyverse gentylmen’ of whom Caxton speaks; and perhaps for the literate lady, for she certainly existed generations before the *Boke* was published. One such was the writer who has given her very problematical name to the *Boke*, wherein she is alleged to have been the compiler of the treatise only—certainly not of the treatise on fishing which angling books, excluding Mr. Eric Taverner’s, still mother upon her. There is nothing to certify that Mistress Juliana Bernes or Barnes, whose name occurs in the *explicit* to the treatise on hunting, the second item in the *Boke*, belonged to the proud family of the Bouchiers, the first lords Berners; or that she became a nun of Sopwell, or was a religious of any brand. The name Bernes, adopted in the *Short Title Catalogue*, was borne by a prominent member of the Mercer’s company in the later days of Edward III. John de Bernes, mayor of London in 1370-1371, bequeathed to the City a large sum of money to found a chest for relief work: by his will, enrolled in the Court of Hustings in 1375, he directed his property to be sold and the proceeds to be kept in a chest under four keys for the purpose of loans to needy persons, the keys to be kept by the several misteries of the Grocers, Mercers, Drapers,

¹ He expressly mentions Bede’s chronological work, the scheme of which clearly determines the chronology of the book. On Bede’s doctrine of the *ætates*, cf. W. Levison, ‘Bede as Historian’, in *Bede, his Life, Times and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson, pp. 112-123.

and by the City Chamberlain respectively.¹ (The City did not scruple to borrow £500 from it for defence purposes in 1399.) In the first half of the fifteenth century Berneys (William) is the name borne by a well-known solicitor—if I may so term him—a man who acted as a ‘feoffee to use’ after the decease of his clients, some of them notable people like Sir Thomas Colepeper of Sussex.² But there is no reason why Berners should be ruled out: in the fifteenth century the names Berners, Bernhous, Bernes, Berneys differ very little, and the indexers of the Close Rolls find it difficult to distinguish between them. There is nothing to rule out Juliana being a Berners, which was also the name of a respectable armigerous family of Ikelingham in Suffolk; ³ at any rate, she appears to have been very much at home with ‘gentle’ pursuits.

Her identity apart, the attack upon her as an author has been severe. ‘The Book of St. Albans’, Professor Skeat remarked, ‘is a mere hash-up of something much older. Most of the hawking and hunting is a translation of the *Venerie de Twety* of the time of Edward II.’ In view of this rather depressing statement from a classic authority, we might well spend a little time upon the contents and derivation of the *Boke of St. Albans*.

It is a compilation devoted to the pursuits and interests of a gentleman, a *generosus* (‘country gentleman’, for all that the *Boke* contains about dogs and birds, unnecessarily narrows the scope). The first treatise, covering quires *a-d* inclusive—the quires are of eight leaves—is on hawking and the diseases of hawks. ‘In so much that gentill men and honest persones have grete delite in hawking and desire to have the maner to take hawkys; and also how and in waat wyse they shulde gyde theym ordynateli: and to know the gentill termys in communynge of theyr hawkys: and to understonde theyr sekeneses and enfirmities. . . . Therefore thys boke fowlowyng in a dew forme shewys veri knowlege of such plesure to gentill men and personys desposed to se itt.’ To know the correct terms when you talk

¹ *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, ii, 180-181.

² *Reg. Chichele*, ii, 50, 276, 383-385.

³ *Cal. Close Rolls, Henry V*, ii (1419-1422), 240. Their manor bore that

falconry, and not be guilty of the infelicities of the ignorant *nouveau riche* sportsman, the type of persons castigated in the cartoons of the Cruickshanks, Leech, and, in our own day, G. D. Armour: this, as in the subsequent treatises, is of supreme importance. The hawking section, whatever its remote derivations—in this country they run from Adelard of Bath and the thirteenth-century treatise in Cambridge University Library, MS. F.F. vi, 13, into a fine crop of later variants—is an elaboration of the work on hawking in Harleian MS. 2340, described as ‘the Boke of Hawking after Prince Edward, King of England’. This is written in a hand of the middle fifteenth century, but is certainly earlier than that, and dates from late Edward II or early Edward III. In the Harleian MS. the medical items are largely identical with those of the St. Albans *Boke*,¹ but the *Boke* is much more than a veterinary surgeon’s guide or a dietary: it gives instructions upon the aviary and how to make it (‘how ye shall dispose and ordayne your mewe’): and it concludes with a glossary of technical terms used in hawking. I remember, when a boy at school, one of my fellows explaining to me that the hawker’s vocabulary is the most technical and complicated in all the literature of sport. That boy, a passionate falconer, is now (1944) Marshal of the Royal Air Force.

At the end of the section on hawking there is an attractive list of *accipitres*, showing that the hawks had a class system corresponding with the social strata of medieval society. An Emperor’s hawks are ‘an Eagle, a Bawtere, and a Melowne; the simplest of theis iii will flee a Hynde Calfe. a Fawn, a Fox, a Kydd, an Elke, a Crane, a Bustard, a Storke, a Swan, a Fox in the playn grownde. And theis be not enlured ne reclaymed by cause that they be so ponderowse to the perch portatiff. And theis iii by ther nature belong to an Emprowre.’ The king’s hawks are a gerfalcon and a gerfalcon’s tercell. A prince has a ‘falcon gentill and a tercell gentill’; a duke has ‘a falcon of the rock’; an earl a peregrine falcon; a baron a bustard, ‘and that is for a Baron’; a knight has a sacret; a lady a merlin; a young man has a hoby. ‘And yet there be more kinds of hawkys.’

¹ E.g., ‘How the Frounce commyth. The Frounce commyth when a man fedith his hawke withe Porke or Cattisflesh iiii days to geyder.’

There is a goshawk, 'and that hawke is for a yeoman'; a tercell, 'and that is for a powere man'. Even the clergy have their hawks: 'there is a Spare hawke' (Sparrow hawk), 'and he is an hawke for a priest. Ther is a Maskyte, and he is for a holiwater clerk.'

The treatise on hunting, with which Dame Juliana is specially associated, is a metricised version of the British translation of *Le Art de Venerie*, by Guillaume Twici or Twiti, huntsman to Edward II. The translation from the Anglo-Norman text, written before 1328, is found in three manuscripts, Phillipps 8336; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 424 (described as by 'William Owich'); and Cotton, Vespasian B. XII. In the Cottonian manuscript, the *Art de Venerie* is followed by a treatise known as 'Master of Game', which in 31 out of its 36 chapters is a translation, with illustrations, of the *Livre de Chasse*, by Gaston de Foix, begun in May 1387. The 'Master of Game' was compiled by Edward, second duke of York, Edward III's grandson. It was printed by Mr. Baillie-Grohman in 1904. What Dame Juliana—if it is she—has done is to take the English translation of Twici, versify it, and add material from the 'Master of Game'; and it seems possible that she used the Vespasian text itself, though, of course, the two treatises may have been found in conjunction elsewhere. The preface is the schoolmaster's: 'Lyke wise as in the booke of hawkyng afore-sayd are writyn and noted the termys of plesure belongyng to gentill men havyng delite therin; in thessame maner thys boke folowyng shewith to sych gentill personys the maner of huntynge for all maner of beestys, wether thay be beestys of venery, or of chase, or rascall (vermin). And also it shewith all the termys convenient as well to the howndys as to the beestys a forsaied.'

Dame Juliana puts the lore of hunting into the form of an address to her pupil, giving as her source of information 'Tristram', that is, Sir Tristram of the Round Table, a mighty hunter and authority on the chase. Tristram was supposed to have invented the technical terms of hunting, and readers of the *Morte d'Arthur* will recollect that in youth, after his return from France, whither he had been sent with Governale 'to lerne the language, and norture and deeds of arms', he took to music and

sport : ' he laboured ever in huntynge and hawkyng so that we never rede of no gentylman more that soo used hym therin. And as the book sayth, he began good mesures of blowyng of beestes of venery and beestes of chace, and all maner of vermayns ; and all these terms we have got of hawkyng and huntynge is called the book of Syr Trystram. Wherefore as me semeth, all gentylmen that beren olde armes oughten of ryght to ponder Sir Tristram for the goodly terms that gentilmen have and are, and shal till the day of dome, that therby in a maner all men of worship may dyssever a gentylman fro a yoman, and from a yoman a vylayne. For he that is gentyl wyll draw hym unto gentyll tatches and to folowe the custome of noble gentylmen.'¹ No passage could more revealingly portray the social sentiments of the fifteenth century. These, then, are Dame Juliana's assumptions, and she begins :

My dere childe take hede how Tristram dooth you tell
How many maner beestys of venery ther were :
Lysten to yowre dame and she shall yow lere.

At the outset nomenclature is of great importance. Each beast ' of venery ', hart, hare, boar and wolf, has its own special collective term : deer—that is, hart, hind, buck and doe—go in *herds* ; roes are in *bevies* ; pigs in *sounders*, and wolves in *rouths*, and she goes on to define a ' little ', a ' middle ' and a ' greet ' (great) herd (20, 40 and 80). Of all beasts hunted, the hare is chief :

Now for to speke of the hare my sonnys secureli
That beest kyng shall be calde of all venery

For my leif chylder I take it on honde
He is the mervellest beest that is in ony londe.

It is upon the hunting of the hare that Dame Juliana's most characteristic lines are found. In the *Venery de Twici* the author is most of all concerned with horn-blowing—what blast to blow on what occasions—and, like its author, Juliana deals with the calls made to the hounds : both writers insist that the calls must be made in French :

¹ I quote from the Rylands copy of the *Morte d'Arthur*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

Now to speke of the haare how all shall be wrought
 When she shall with honndes be foundyn and focht,
 The first word to the houndis that the hunt shall owt pit
 Is at the kenell doore when he openys it,
 That all may hym here : he shall say ' *arere !* ' (' Bade ! ')
 For his howndes wolde cum to hastely
 That is the first worde my sonne of venery.
 And when he hath couplyd his houndes ychoon (*everyone*),
 And is forth with hem to the felde goon,
 And when he has of cast his cowples at will,
 Then shall he speke and say his howndes till
 ' *Hors de couple, avant se avant !* '

Then 'so ho ! so ho !' thrice ; and then 'sa sa, cy avant !' And so forth. If you want them to go more slowly and quietly, you say 'Sweff, mon amy, sweff !' There is much good observation in the stanzas which explain why the hunted deer makes for water. From this point onwards the dependence of the text on the *Master of Game* is evident, for the teaching the dame gives to her child is replaced by a dialogue between master and man. The man speaks :

(*Man*) Yit wolde I witt maister whi theys houndes all
 Bayen and cryen when thay hym (the hare) cache shall.

(*Master*) For thay wolde have helpe that is thayr skylle
 For to flee the beest that thay reune tyll.

Tell me mayster, quod the man, what is the skylle
 Why the haare wolde so faynne renne ayenest the hill ?

Quod the mayster : ' for his leggyis be shorter befoore
 Then behynde : that is the skylle of yooore '.

But the dame and her child return in the last stanzas, where we are reminded of the more utilitarian aspect of hunting in the elaborate instructions for dismembering and trussing the boar or deer when killed. While hunting was essentially a 'gentle' (i.e. a non-mercenary) pursuit, it aimed also at stocking the larder, and according to Dame Juliana's receipts, no part of the deer should be wasted. The culinary instructions 'to my childe' are minute and certainly outdo Mrs. Beeton. Possibly the 'child' might find this the most valuable part of the treatise : perhaps a better reason than the hawking and hunting patter for acquiring the Boke.

Our fifteenth-century literature abounds in proverbs, adages, comparisons.¹ Immediately after Dame Juliana's *explicit* the schoolmaster has filled up the remaining leaves of the quire with amusing trifles : Beasts of the chase that are 'sweet and stinking' : the properties of a good greyhound—'headed like a snake, necked like a drake, footed like a cat, tailed like a rat, sided like a teme,² chined like a beam'. The properties of a good horse, which are worth quoting :

A goode hors shulde have xv propertees and condicions.

It is to wit, iii of a man, ii of a woman, iii of a fox,

iii of an haare and iii of an asse.

Off a man, boolde, prowde, and hardy.

Off a woman, fayre brestid, faire of here, and esy to lip upon.

Off a fox, a faire tayle, short eris with a good trot.

Off an haare a grete eyghe, a dry hede and well rennyng.

Off an asse a bigge chyne, a flatte leg and good houe.

And various maxims :

Arise erly, serve God deuouteli, and the worlde besily : doo thy werke wiseli ; Yeue thyn almese secretly. Go by the way sadly. Answer the peple demurely. Go to thi mete appetideli. Sit ther at descretely. Of thi tonge be not to liberalli. Arrise therfrom temperatly. Goo to thi soper soborly, and to thy bedde merely. Be in thyn Inne jocundely, plesse thy love duly, and slepe surely.³

After these diversions, the printer's method of filling space,⁴ the longest treatise of the Boke of St. Albans is reached—the *Liber Armorum*, divided into two parts : the heraldic definition of a gentleman, both by descent and by coat armour ; and the main principles observed in the blazing of arms, a brief explanation of heraldic terms, illustrated by examples. For this *Liber* there are two distinct sources : the *De officio militari* of Nicholas Upton, canon of Salisbury, from which the schoolmaster copied Book IV ; and the English 'Book of the Lineage of Coat Armour', a fifteenth-century compilation.

There is no need to expatiate upon the importance of heraldry

¹ For such proverbs and precepts, before 1400, cf. J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400*, ch. vii and supplements.

² The (taut) main chain of the plough.

³ For earlier sets, cf. Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

⁴ Another example is his insertion of a list of collective terms : a pride of lions ; a litter of whelps ; a superfluity of nuns ; a blush of boys ; an incredibility of cuckold, etc.

as a subject of polite study and speculation in the later Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century it aroused absorbing interest. If to the minds of Malory and Caxton (who printed a translation of the *Ordeyne*) chivalry had a moral value for its inculcation of the free and knightly qualities, heraldry was the formal way of displaying the gentle lineage which to contemporary minds disposed a man towards such virtue.¹ Here it is only worth noting that the organization of the Office of Arms dates from the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century: that great cases in the Court of Chivalry when arms were in dispute, like the Grey-Hastings suit, evoked widespread comment; and that the revival of the French war by Henry V invited heraldic interest in the captains and their retinues of well-born retainers. Fifty years later Edward IV's expedition to France was to have its personnel portrayed in a College of Arms manuscript which gives each leader his badge, and is as much a heraldic document as a muster roll.² But to return to Henry V: on the Close Roll under 2nd June, 1417, stands a royal letter addressed to the sheriffs of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Dorset. In recent expeditions abroad, it stated, many persons had taken to themselves arms and tunics of arms 'called coat armours' (a reference to the tabard, the descendant of the military jupon), when neither they nor their ancestors had used such armour in the past. The sheriffs were accordingly to proclaim that nobody must assume or bear arms unless they had a right to the same, either by descent or by the grant of some person with sufficient authority: and that all, save only those who fought at Agincourt³ should, under pain of exclusion from the expedition (Henry was preparing for the second Norman campaign), show on a certain day warrant for the arms they bore.⁴ The writ instituted a little inquiry into the arms borne by the newcomers in his expeditionary force.

It betrays the hand of the Duke of Clarence who, between 1417 and 1421—i.e., during the second campaign which ended in

¹ Thus Richard Ullerston, in his 'De officio militari', dedicated to Henry V, maintains the connexion between noble birth and virtue.

² Ed. F. P. Barnard, Oxford, 1925.

³ 'This day shall gentle his condition', as Shakespeare makes Henry V (most historically) say. Has this point been noticed?

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls, Henry V*, i (1413-19), 433.

the conquest of Normandy and the Treaty of Troyes—made for the Kings of Arms and the Heralds a group of ordinances that defined their duties in a most interesting way. The first chapter of the Office of Arms actually took place in the field before Rouen, while the siege was still in progress, on 5th January, 1420. The three kings of Arms and four heralds were present.¹ The ordinances direct that Garter King of Arms and the other kings in their own provinces, shall get knowledge of all noblemen and gentlemen, and especially of those who ought to bear coats in the service of the king, his lieutenant, and their commissaries, and register their names, arms and issues with proper differences. The herald is not to make a grant of arms without the licence of the first King of Arms: officers of arms are to frequent good company and to apply themselves to the study of books of good manners and eloquence, of chronicles and accounts of honourable deeds of arms and of the properties of colours, herbs and stones, so that they may be able, justly and suitably, to assign to each person, the arms that belong to him.² The granting of arms is therefore essentially the reception of a man 'en l'estat de gentil homme'. Clarence's instructions bore fruit later in the *Libellus de Militari Officio*, by Nicholas Upton, canon of Salisbury, written some time before 1434-1440, and dedicated to Clarence's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Upton, in his salad days, had fought with Thomas Montague, Suffolk and Talbot in France, and when Humphrey encouraged him to take Orders after 1430, his mind went back to the pennons flown in the great expedition, and how it was necessary for a good herald to recognize each banner and coat of arms and to make personal note of all who were in 'l'estat de gentil homme'. (In 1389 Richard II, by grant of arms, had received John of Kingston into the estate of gentleman, and had made him an *armiger*, in order that he might challenge and be challenged by a French opponent.³) After the ordinances were issued, the heralds could confer the status of gentleman, if their chief authority permitted; thus it was an authoritative guide on the nature of knighthood and gentility, on war-like exercise, on the 'noble' colours, and on

¹ A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages*, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 60 f.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1388-1392, p. 72.

the details of the shield and coat, that the canon of Salisbury penned with an astonishing list of citations, not least from the Canon Law. The *Boke of St. Albans* is not so well arranged nor so scientific; for the colours it substitutes precious stones; for the discourse on nobility it inserts a little mythology from the Trojan wars which, in Lydgate's other English version, might be said to form the 'chronicles and accounts of honourable deeds of arms'; for the Trojan legend, equally with the Arthurian cycle, provided the historical background, so to speak, for the profession of arms and the exercise of the chivalric virtues.¹ They were the source of the 'joyous and pleysaunt historyes' which were written 'for our doctrine'; whereas, as Mallory said, 'to give faythe and byleve that all is true that is contained therin, ye be at your liberty'. We shall never understand the historian in the Middle Ages if we forget that his work was written as much to entertain and divert, as to constitute an objective record.

The *Liber Armorum* in the *Boke* first sets out to distinguish gentleness from ungentleness. All gentleness comes of God in Heaven. There were originally in Heaven ten orders of Angels bearing coat armour, but there are now only nine. For Lucifer with 'mylionys of Angels' has fallen out of Heaven into 'other places'. Just as a gentleman might say that all men come from Adam, so also might Lucifer say that he and all his Angels came from Heaven. Adam himself was, so to speak, neutral: 'a stock unsprayed and unflourished'. In the earlier stages gentleness was not quite hereditary: in the sons of Adam and Eve were to be found both gentleman and churl.

How then shall gentlemen be known from churls? There is, first of all, ancestry. Cain, for his evil conduct, was the first churl, and all his descendants were churls because of his unfraternal behaviour. On the other hand, Adam's son Seth was made a gentleman through the person of his father and mother. Noah was a gentleman 'of kynde', but of his three sons, 'Sem, Cham and Jafeth', Cham became a churl because 'ungentleness was found to his own father'. On account of his regrettable

¹ For the significance of the Trojan legend in England, and its connexion with the Arthurian, cf. A. E. Parsons, 'The Trojan Legend in England,' *Modern Language Review*, Vol. 24, pp. 253 f., 394 f.

and unfilial behaviour Noah cursed him and gave him the north part of the world for his habitation. He was to dwell where there was sorrow and care, cold and mischief, in the third part of the world, which should be called Europe, that is to say, the country of churls. Jafeth, on the other hand, was given the best part of the world, the part where wealth and grace should be, in other words, Asia, that is to say, the country of gentlemen. Addressing 'Sem', Noah promised that he should be a gentleman, and take the Orient, 'that other part of the world which is called Africa, that is to say, the country of tempurness': by which it will be clear that the Flood must have somewhat confounded Noah's sense of geography. At all events, of the offspring of the gentleman Jafeth came Abraham, Moses and Aaron, and the prophets, and also the King of the right line of Mary, of whom that gentleman Jesus was born, very God and man; 'after his manhood, king of the land of Judah and of Jews, a gentleman by his mother Mary, and Prince of Coat Armour'.

The origins of Coat Armour was then sought. It was made and figured at the siege of Troy, where 'in *Gestis Troianorum*, it telleth that the first begynnyng of the Law of Arms was'. This existed before any law in the world save the Law of Nature, and before the ten commandments of God. Now this Law of Arms was granted upon the nine Orders of Angels in Heaven, each Order 'encrowned' with precious stones and divers virtues: and so follows a little lapidary or account of the virtues of precious stones, a favourite form of Anglo-Norman literature. Topaz stands for truth, emerald for hardiness, amethyst for chivalry. Each of these stones, with their virtues, represents the hierarchy of gentleness: Gentleman, Squire, Knight, Baron, Lord, Earl, Marquis, Duke and Prince. Everything now proceeds in nines: the nine articles of gentleness, and the nine vices that make against gentleness. The articles of gentleness are divided into five 'amorous' and four 'sovereign'. The five 'amorous' attributes are to be lordly of countenance, 'treteable' in language, wise in answer, perfect in governance and 'cheerful to faithfulness' (doing tasks cheerfully). The four sovereign gentlenesses are these—few oaths in swearing; 'buxom to God's bidding'; 'knowing his own birth in bearing' (in his bearing), and 'to

dread to offend his sovereign'. The vices are divided into determinable and indeterminable. Determinable are predicates of action at a particular crisis or occasion. Indeterminable are : 'to be full of sloath in war, to be full of boost in his manhood, to be full of cowardice to his enemy, to be full of lechery in his body'; the fifth to be 'full of drinking and drunkenly'. The four determinable vices : 'to revoke his own challenge, to slay his prisoners with his own hand, to void from his sovereign's banner in the field, and fifthly, to tell his sovereign false tales'.

Though coat-armour can be traced back to the siege of Troy, the source of so many institutions, knighthood existed before then and a greater institution before that. 'Know ye that these two orders were, first, wedlock, and then knighthood', and knighthood was made before coat armour was ordained. The first knight was Olibion, son of Afteryall, whom Afteryall 'smote flattying' with his son's sword nine times in toke of the nine virtues. But knights can be made not only with the sword, but with the bath—and the bath is 'worthiest by cause of 4 royalties'—that means because the bath is used on four occasions in the ceremonial life of a king—when as a young man he is knighted : when a king or emperor is crowned or when a queen or empress is crowned ; and at a meeting of sovereigns. But gentleness *can* be acquired : it is not entirely inherited. A man may receive a grant of armour by one of the Heralds : he may have a lordship conferred upon him 'by seal of patent to him and his heirs for ever' : or he may wear the coat armour of a Saracen whom he has slain on Crusade. There may also be a gentleman spiritual—a churl may so be 'a gentleman to God and not of blood'. But of course an ecclesiastic may also be a gentleman by birth. If a gentleman's son be made priest, he is a gentleman both spiritual and temporal. Christ was a gentleman of his mother by value, and bore coat armour of ancestors ; the four evangelists had gentle ancestry, sprung as they were from Judas Maccabaeus ; but after his death his kin 'fell to labours and were called no gentlemen'. The four doctors of Holy Church, however, were 'gentlemen of blood and coat armour'.

Then follows the second part of the treatise on the actual blazing of arms, which, as I said, is simply translated from

Nicholas Upton. Yet it would be an error to undervalue its utility. For the herald of an important noble (and the Wars of the Roses had by no means killed off the nobility and gentry of England, as is sometimes thought), the recognition of arms was an essential matter. The rolls of arms exhibited at the Birmingham Exhibition of Heraldry (1936), many preserved at the College of Arms, display the sixteenth century as, perhaps, an even more heraldic century than the fifteenth; and when we recollect that the first twenty-five years saw the hey-day of the memorial brass in which coats of arms figure predominantly, and consider the number of sepulchral monuments bearing the shields of deceased justice, baron of the Exchequer, or shire knight, and the heraldic glass that filled the windows of so many collegiate and parish churches, we shall think of the early Tudor age as no pallid aftermath of the Middle Ages, but their fruition, in an atmosphere of greater order and security.

In Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the *Boke of St. Albans*, 1496, the explicit of the Treatise of Coat Armour runs thus :

Here we shall make an end of the moost specyall things of the boke of the lyngage of cote armurys : and how gentlemen shall be known from ungentlemen. And consequently shall followe a compendyouys treatyse of fysshing with an angle which is right necessary to be had in this present volume : because it shewith afore the manere of hawking and hunting with other divers matters right necessary to be knowen of noble men,¹ and also for it is one of the disportes that gentylmen use. And also it is not soo laborious ne soo dishonest to fysshe in this wyse as it is with nettes and other engynes which crafty men do use for theyr daily increase of goods.

Why did Mr. Gordon Duff, in transcribing this explicit, insert the little word *sic* after laborious? Surely the whole point of the insertion of the treatise in the Book is its 'gentle' character. The 'gentle art' does not mean that fishing is a mild and recreational sort of pastime : it means that it is the pastime of 'gentil' men, that is, of people who do not swink and sweat, or have to get their living by the gross methods of the net and the 'otter' : 'laborious' and 'dishonest' are the terms used of 'craftymen', i.e., craftsmen and mechanics, who employ various engines and devices to extract fish out of the rivers for a living.

The treatise therefore has no connexion with Dame Juliana

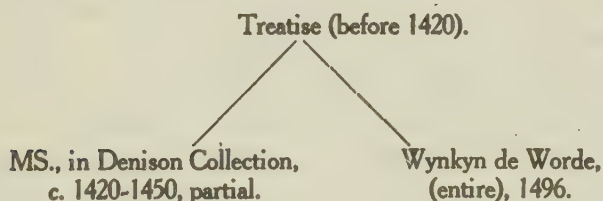
¹ I.e., in the sections which precede the part devoted to fishing.

¶ Here begynnyth the treatise of fyshynge wryth an Angle.



Salamon in his parables sayth that a good spyrite makyth a flourynge acce that is a fapre acce & a longe. And syth it is soo. I aske this questyon. Whiche ben the means & the causes that enduce a man in to a meyn spyrite. Truly to my beste dyscrecion it semeth good dysportes & honest gamys in whow a man Joyeth wrythout ony repentance after. Thenne folowyth it þat gode dysportes & honest games ben cause of manys fapre acce & longe life. And therfore now woll I chose of foure good dysportes & honeste gamys that is to wyte of huntynge: hawkynge: fyshynge: & foulynge. The beste to my simple dyscrecion whiche is fyshynge: callyd Anglynge wryth a rodde: and a lyne

Berners, Bernes, Barnes, or Bernhus. But it is prior to the *Boke of St. Albans*. In its earliest surviving form it—or the greater part of it—is contained in a privately owned manuscript¹ written on five sheets of paper folded in quarto form; and the paper has the watermark of a gloved hand, which, along with the character of the script, points to the first half of the fifteenth century as the period of writing. The original extends as far as the instructions on trout fishing, and finishes with the section on the bait to be used in September. When compared with the Treatise as printed in the *Boke of St. Albans*, there is, as the editor of the edition of the *Boke* published in 1810 observed, the customary difference of orthography, and there are three instances of variations in the introductory matter: there are also, as the more recent editor of the early fragment has pointed out, various gaps which the Treatise fills:² thus suggesting that what we have called the 'earliest surviving form' is not the original, but a copy from a more complete text, from which Wynkyn de Worde printed:



It is a delightful treatise in the true English style: that is, it begins with an appreciation of the scenes and the country which fishermen writers from Izaak Walton to Lord Grey have so enjoyed: but in a way which contrasts fishing with noisier and more breathless pastimes: and a nice vein of humour it shows:

For huntyng as to myne entent is to gret labur. The hunter must all day renne and folow hys houndes, travelyng and swetyng fal soyr he blowythe tyl hys lyp pys blyster, and wen he wenyt [*thinks*] hyt be a hare, ful often hit ys a heyghoge. Thus he chaset, and wen he cummet home at even, reyn beton, seyr prykud with thornes and hys clothes tornes, wet schod fulwy som

¹ Formerly in the Denison Collection: later sold to America, where it is (or was), Mr. Murgatroyd tells me, in the possession of Mr. David Walker, Tuxedo Park, New York State.

² *An Older Form of the 'Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an angle'*, ed. T. Satchell, (1883), pp. ii-iv.

of hys howndes some surbatted [*footsore*], suche grevys and meny oþer to the hunter hapeth wiche for displesous of hem þat loueth hyt I dare not report all.¹

Now you will recollect that in the *Complete Angler*, Part I, Chapter 1, Piscator (that is, Walton), as he goes along, meets a hunter and a hawker and argues with them. Each makes a speech extolling his own sport, the hawker praising the beauty and significance of the flight of birds, circling in the upper regions so that they are 'lost in the sight of men, and attend upon and converse with the gods'; the hunter, eulogizing hunting as a game for Princes ('Hunting trains up the younger nobility to the use of manly exercise in their riper age'), and for the excellence of the dogs employed. Then Piscator, who hopes that he will not perpetrate a watery discourse, praises water as the eldest daughter of Creation, the element upon which the spirit of God did first move: and as the source of 'daily traffic and adventure'. But Piscator also claims angling is an art. 'Is it not an art to deceive a trout with an artificial fly? A trout that is more sharp sighted than any hawk you have named, and more watchful and timorous than your high mettled Merlin is bold? And yet I doubt not to catch a brace or two to-morrow, for a friend's breakfast: doubt not therefore, sir, but that Angling is an art, and an art worth your learning: the question is rather, whether you be capable of learning it? For Angling is somewhat like poetry, men are to be born so.'

Our fifteenth-century treatise does not, as Walton did, speak of the antiquity of fishing, which some (Mr. Radcliffe among them) say is as ancient as Deucalion's flood. It goes straight to the practical question of how to make your tackle (for the fisherman had no Hardy or Farlow to rely upon, and all tackle had to be made at home): the rod, in two pieces, of hazel, willow or ash; the line, which must be coloured to suit the nature of the water (as we to-day camouflage casts), and—'the moost hardyste craft in making of your harnays'—the hooks; the line of plaited horse hair, one strand for the roach, the bleak and the gudgeon; nine strands (too thick!) for the trout, grayling and the barbel—this shows that in the fifteenth century trout ran larger than to-day—

¹ *Treatyse*, p. 2.

fifteen hairs plaited for the salmon. The treatise gives some valuable practical advice on concealment :

And for the principall poynt of anglyng kepe you ever from þe watur and from the syzt of fyche fer [*far*] on the londe or els be hynde a busche or a tre þat þe fysche see you not, for yf he do he wyl not bytte, and loke ye shadow not the watur as moche as ye may for hyt ys a thynhe [*thing*] wyche wyl a fray þe fyche and yf he be a frayd he wyl not byt a good while aftur.¹

The *dubbed hook*² is the fly ; the treatise enumerates twelve methods of dressing the artificial fly ; and if these be compared with Walton's *Complete Angler*, Part I, Chapter V, it will be seen that Walton's twelve patterns are the same, for they are taken, body, wings and all, from the Treatise, with occasional obscurities left out. Thus :

The Treatise : *June* : The mauve fly, the body of dusk wool and the wings of the blackest mail of the wild drake. The tandy fly at Saint Wylyyam's day. The body of tandy wull and wynges contrary eyther ayenst another of the whitest mayle of the wilde drake.

Walton : *June* : The eighth is the Moorish fly : made with the body of darkish wool, and the wings make of the blackish mail of the drake. The ninth is the tawny fly, good until the middle of June : the body made of tawny wool, the wings made contrary one against the other, made of the whitish mail of the wild drake.

Walton has therefore copied and made more intelligible the instructions in the Treatise, embodied in the Book of St. Albans : but he has got St. William of York wrong : his day is 8th June. Perhaps, however, he got a good fish on the tawny fly (evidently one of the sedges) about the 15th of that month. The fact of this copying and adaptation, to which both Mr. R. B. Marston and Mr. Eric Taverner have called attention, should not diminish our delight in the charming author of the best nature book of the seventeenth century.

This, then, is the Boke of St. Albans, and its later addendum with which Dame Juliana Berners is by a sort of historico-poetic licence connected. Let it be so. Whoever she was, she must

¹ *Treatyse*, p. 17.

² It would be good if professional fly-dressers remembered this description, and ceased (some of them) to over-dress their flies.

have been admirably attuned to country sights and sounds : the *too-root* of the horn, the music of the deep-voiced and long-eared hounds, the fluttering of hawks into the dappled sky. Our Middle Ages shall yet remain for us a time of glamour and joyfulness, even if the overworked archdeacon or the laborious crofter did not always find them so. This does not prevent our tracing the derivation of things, and learning that our medieval ancestors had no literary copyright, took what suited their purpose, and printed it for the service of those who could use it best.

THE LIFE OF JESUS: A SURVEY OF THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL.

2. THE FOUNDATION OF THE SYNOPTIC TRADITION: THE GOSPEL OF MARK.¹

By T. W. MANSON, D.Litt., D.D.,
RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

THE first lecture in this series dealt with the materials for a Life of Jesus outside the New Testament. We saw that the reliable extra-canonical evidence, though very small in amount, corroborates some essential points in the primitive Christian *kerygma*. We found that both Christian and non-Christian statements agree in presenting the figure of a crucified teacher, with this difference that whereas the non-Christian sources, both Jewish and pagan, regard him as a false teacher who fully deserved the fate that overtook him, the Christian sources make the amazing claim that the crucified teacher is the promised Messiah, the hope of Israel and the world. To rebut Jewish and pagan criticisms and to establish Christian claims, it was necessary to produce the teaching of Jesus, necessary to describe the ministry. It was not sufficient to do this in general terms, merely asserting that Jesus taught as one having authority, or that he went about doing good: it was imperative to produce specimens of those oracles which had made so tremendous an impression, and of those mighty acts and gracious deeds of service which had drawn men and women to him and fastened their hopes upon him. To convince or convert the outsider detailed evidence in support of Christian claims was urgently required.

Nor was there any lack of interest in the words and deeds on the part of those who were already members of the Christian community. If the teaching and example of Jesus were to be authoritative for Christians, there was every reason why detailed knowledge of the Lord's Ministry should be made available in

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 12th of January, 1944.

the Church. And indeed we have striking evidence that this was the case. In the fifties of the first century we find Paul dealing with the moral problems of the Corinthian community, and discriminating carefully between matters on which he can quote a ruling from the Lord and those on which he can offer only his own opinion.¹ Again, in dealing with the disorders of Corinthian Eucharistic worship, he appeals direct to the traditional account of what Jesus did at the institution of the Supper, evidently taking it for granted that that should be the norm for all Christians.² The inference has been drawn, rightly I think, that even at this early date there were available some more or less systematic collections of the Lord's teachings. It is possible, even probable, that such collections of teaching, and of narrative too, were more numerous than we commonly suppose, and that much of the material contained in them has been lost beyond recovery. Some of the fragments in Resch's great collection of *Agrapha* may well be the wreckage of early compilations of sayings. Again, Synoptic criticism and Form-criticism alike converge on the conclusion that between the unorganised mass of isolated *pericopæ* and isolated *logia* on the one side, and the completed Gospels on the other, there were blocks, groups, or aggregations of sayings or narratives, some of which in whole or part went to the construction of our existing Gospels. In Mark, for example, besides the Passion narrative, there are other groups which resist the attempt to break them up into their constituent elements. Thus the section, Mk. iv. 35—v. 43, to which we shall return later, is recognised by Dibelius and K. L. Schmidt as probably a unity before Mark wrote. This is a group of miracle stories, including the stilling of the storm, the cure of the Gerasene demoniac, the cure of the woman with the issue of blood, and the raising of Jairus' daughter. Similar aggregations are Mk. i. 23-38 (incidents placed on one day in Capernaum), ii. 15—iii. 6 and xii. 13-27 (disputes with opponents: possibly the two groups are really parts of a single collection broken up by the Evangelist); and, if Professor Dodd's hypothesis is right, Mk. i. 14-15, 21-22, 39; ii. 13; iii. 7b-19; vi. 7, 12-13, 30

¹ Cf. I Cor. vii. 10 f.; ix. 14; Moffatt's Commentary on I Cor. p. 80; A. M. Hunter, *Paul and his Predecessors*, pp. 52-61.

² I Cor. xi. 23 ff.

(an outline of the Galilean ministry, broken up to accommodate other detailed materials).¹ The Evangelist's task may well have been to select, simplify, and reduce, in order to bring what seemed to him an unwieldy mass of material within the compass of his papyrus roll. It is clear from the treatment of Mark by Matthew and Luke that they were not afraid of editing, or even sub-editing; and what has happened in the case that we can check has doubtless happened in many another case that we cannot check. We know what Matthew and Luke did to Mark: we can only guess what Mark did to the pre-Markan sources, and what Matthew and Luke did to sources other than Mark.

With these preliminary remarks we may turn to the earliest of our canonical Gospels, that of Mark. This is the document upon which, more than any other, any critical attempt to write the life of Jesus must depend. What does it offer? It presents an outline of the Ministry, starting from the activity of John the Baptist and ending with the discovery of the empty tomb. It is generally acknowledged that the true text of Mark ends at xvi. 8 with the words *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*—'for they were afraid'. There has been much debate on the question whether a sentence may end with *γάρ*, and enough evidence has been accumulated to show that the thing is possible; but it has been forcibly argued² that, while *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ* may conceivably be the end of a sentence, it cannot well be the end of a Gospel, or even of a paragraph. We must suppose that the end of the Gospel is lost, and that the additional verses which appear in our manuscripts are attempts to repair the damage.

How much of the original has been lost? To this question a firm answer is not possible; but, as we shall see, there is some reason for thinking that the amount is not great. For the moment we leave the end of the Gospel and turn to the beginning.

The opening of Mark has long been as difficult a problem to commentators as its close, in some ways even more difficult. Verse 1 offers a subject with no predicate; verses 2 and 3 a subordinate clause with no main clause; and verse 4 gives a

¹ See Dodd's article 'The Framework of the Gospel Narrative', in *Expos. Times*, xliii. pp. 396-400.

² By W. L. Knox, in *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxxv. pp. 13-23.

statement of fact about John the Baptist, which seems to have some links in thought with what has gone before, but no obvious grammatical connexion. Various solutions of the problem have been proposed. One of them—that defended by C. H. Turner¹—would, if it could be accepted, allow us to believe that the opening of the Gospel has come down to us intact. It consists in taking verse 1 as subject and verse 4 as predicate of a single sentence, with verses 2 and 3 as a long parenthesis. The sense then is (in Turner's words): 'the beginning of the Good News of Jesus was John the Baptist's preaching of a baptism of repentance'. It is true that this interpretation has support from the Greek Fathers, but even so it is more ingenious than convincing. If we reject it, as I think we must, the most obvious alternative is to put (with Hort and von Soden) a full stop at the end of verse 1, which is then to be regarded as a kind of title or superscription to the whole book. Here again, if we may regard the verse as genuine, it will be evidence that the beginning of the Gospel has not been lost.

But now we are confronted by a difficulty raised forty years ago by Spitta,² who argued that if verse 1 is a title, and the story proper begins with verse 2, then we have to account for the strange fact that an Old Testament text is cited as a proof-text *before* any event has been mentioned which could be regarded as the fulfilment of the prophecy in question. The normal order is that first the fact is stated, and then the relevant text is cited with the formula *καθὼς γέγραπται* or the like.

That this difficulty is a real one is shown by the fact that both Matthew and Luke have rearranged the order, presumably independently of one another. Both begin with a note of time (Mt. : *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις*. Lk. : *ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Καϊάφα*), followed by a description of the appearance of John and his preaching of repentance. Then comes the proof-text from Isaiah.

So far as Mark is concerned Spitta's solution is that the Gospel lacks both beginning and end. The text offered by the best MSS. is already patched up by the addition of verse 1. But

¹ *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, Part III, p. 50.

² *Z.N.W.*, V (1904), pp. 305-308.

once the patch is removed, it becomes clear that the genuine beginning has been lost.

There are other, and even more drastic methods of dealing with the opening verses. Some commentators have taken verse 1 as the title of the book and rejected verses 2 and 3. Others would reject verses 1-3 altogether, and regard the story as beginning with verse 4. These methods get rid of some of the difficulties; but they leave us with a very abrupt opening in verse 4, so abrupt that if we suppose the authentic text of Mark to begin there, the corollary would almost inevitably be that the true beginning of the Gospel has been lost, and that verses 1-3 are patchwork of the same order as the various 'endings'.

The conclusion to be drawn is, I think, that Mark as we know it is defective both at the beginning and the end. It is at this point that a new factor comes into the discussion, the fact that the use of the codex rather than the roll is being pushed farther and farther back in the history of early Christian book-production. If the common ancestor of all our defective MSS. was written in codex form we should have at once a simple and satisfying explanation of the loss at the beginning and the end of the Gospel. For that is what would happen if the outside leaves of the book were lost, and it is just the outside leaves that are most liable to loss or damage. If the Gospel was written in codex form it would make a relatively small volume. Sir Frederic Kenyon has estimated that it probably occupied some thirty pages of the very ancient papyrus codex P⁴⁵. If we suppose a much smaller size of page we might double the number of pages, and even so we should have only about fifteen sheets of papyrus in the codex. (The Chester Beatty Isaiah, when complete, consisted of a single quire of 112 leaves, and the codex of the Pauline Epistles (P⁴⁶) was a quire of 104 leaves.¹ Supposing that this is the right explanation of the phenomena, it is reasonable to suppose that the loss at the beginning and end of Mark is relatively small in extent, since it is probable that only the outside pair of leaves would be likely to be lost through fair wear and tear. But though small in extent it must also be very early in date, for neither at the beginning of the Gospel nor at the end is there

¹ Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Fasc. I, pp. 9 ff.; Fasc. III Supplement, p. viii; Fasc. VI, pp. v f.

any convincing indication that Matthew and Luke were any better off than we are.

I turn now to the much-discussed testimony of the Elder John quoted by Papias and from Papias by Eusebius :—¹

‘ This also the elder used to say. Mark, indeed, having been the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately, howbeit not in order, all that he recalled of what was either said or done by the Lord. For he neither heard the Lord, nor was he a follower of His, but, at a later date (as I said), of Peter ; who used to adapt his instructions to the needs [of the moment], but not with a view to putting together the Dominical oracles in orderly fashion : so that Mark did no wrong in thus writing some things as he recalled them. For he kept a single aim in view : not to omit anything of what he heard, nor to state anything therein falsely.’

This passage may be taken to represent the tradition about Markan origins as Papias held it early in the second century.² The Elder John, from whom he derived it, takes us a little farther back, perhaps into the closing years of the first century, that is, within some thirty years of the writing of Mark, on the commonly accepted date. Let us see what the testimony of the Elder comes to.

First of all it claims that at least one of the sources from which Mark derived his material was the teaching of Peter. As no other source is mentioned, we may assume that the Elder believed that the teaching of Peter was the only, or at least the principal, one. We, too, may well believe that it was the principal, though not necessarily the only, source. Secondly, it is made clear that Mark himself had no first-hand knowledge of the sayings and doings of the Lord : like Luke he was dependent for his materials on those who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.³ Thirdly, the information which he

¹ *H.E.* iii. 39. 15, Lawlor and Oulton's translation.

² The late Dr. Vernon Bartlet argued strongly for a date about 110 for Papias' *Expositions*. See *Amicitiae Corolla*, pp. 15-44.

³ The absoluteness of this statement *may* be modified if one possible interpretation of the fragmentary first line of the Muratorian Canon be accepted. In that case Mark will have been an eye-witness of some incidents of the Ministry. See Zahn, *Geschichte des ntlichen Kanons*, iii, pp. 18 ff.

derived from Peter had been picked up in the course of his employment as *hermeneutes*, interpreter, to the Apostle. (I have suggested elsewhere¹ that this office may have included the duties of a private secretary and an *aide-de-camp*.) Further, it was not an organised body of teaching—a course of lectures by Peter which were later published by Mark.² It was a loose collection of the sayings and stories which the Apostle had brought out from time to time to meet the needs of the moment. The way in which this kind of thing happened can be illustrated from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, to which reference has already been made. Here we see the teaching or practice of the Lord adduced as authoritative for the settlement of the day-to-day problems of the Corinthian community. These quotations are very precious ; but they are not very numerous ; and we may imagine that Mark might have been a long time with Peter and still not have got anything like a complete and comprehensive account of the Ministry.

When Mark decided to write a connected account of the Ministry, he had these unorganised sayings and anecdotes which he had heard during his attendance on Peter. The Elder clearly implies that there was no longer any possibility of going to Peter and asking to have these pieces arranged in order. It must be assumed that the connexion between the Apostle and the Evangelist had come to an end, either by the death of Peter or for some other reason.³ Mark thus had to do the best he could with his reminiscences of Peter's teaching and such other material as he possessed. That other material was at his disposal there is no good reason to doubt. We need not suppose that he came to Peter with his mind a *tabula rasa*. On the contrary, if he is the John Mark of the early chapters of Acts, he must have known

¹ *Teaching of Jesus*, p. 23, n. 1.

² As, for example, Adamson's lectures on the history of modern philosophy were posthumously published from his students' notebooks, and at once became a standard work on the subject.

³ This consideration settles the translation of *γενόμενος* in the opening sentence of the Papias statement. We must render 'having been' with Lawlor and Oulton rather than 'having become' with Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, p. 529). In all probability we have here an example of the use of *γενόμενος* as we use 'ex-' to indicate the holder of an office now given up. See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 126.

a great deal of the tradition about Jesus before he became Peter's assistant. Let us look at what we know about John Mark and his opportunities for becoming acquainted with facts about Jesus before he attached himself to Peter.

The earliest piece of evidence about Mark—if it can be accepted as such—is a bit of autobiography embodied in his Gospel. In Mk. xiv. 51 f. we read that

‘A certain young man followed with him, having a linen cloth wrapped round him over his naked body: and they lay hold of him; but he left the linen cloth and fled naked’

It has been pointed out that:

(a) This bit of narrative is peculiar to Mark.

(b) It cannot well be derived from any of the disciples, since they had already run away; and the description does not suggest that the young man himself was one of the Twelve.

(c) It can hardly come from Jesus, who apparently had no further communication with his friends after the arrest.

The natural inference is that the story came from the young man himself: and it is in itself so insignificant a detail that there seems no good reason why Mark should have troubled to relate it unless he himself was the young man. From this it is an easy step to the conjecture that the reason why the young man came to be there was that he had followed the party from the house where the last supper was held—and that the house was his home. This again fits in quite well with what we subsequently learn from Acts about the place taken by Mark's home and family in the life of the early Jerusalem community.

There is, however, one difficulty in the way of accepting the theory. It is this. There is a discrepancy between the Synoptics and John with regard to the date of the last supper. The details are too complex to be discussed here, but the upshot of the matter is that the Johannine tradition, supported indirectly by Paul and the *Didache*,¹ makes the last supper fall on the evening twenty-four hours before the Jewish Passover meal, while Mark, followed by Matthew, identifies the last supper with the Passover meal. The opinion of scholars is still divided on this problem.

¹ I do not think it is possible to bring in ‘Proto-Luke’ or Luke's special source as a witness on this side.

There are some who hold that on this point John is right as against the Synoptics. Others, including Dalman¹ and J. Jeremias,² hold to the view that the last supper *was* a Passover meal. There is a third solution proposed by Billerbeck,³ who holds that in the year of the Crucifixion, owing to a dispute between Pharisees and Sadducees about the calendar, the Passover was celebrated twice, the Pharisees observing it on Thursday evening, the Sadducees on Friday evening. Jesus and his disciples fell in with the Pharisaic arrangement. John records the Sadducean date. This is very ingenious; but the evidence on which Billerbeck relies is too scanty to warrant any real confidence in his theory.

Now if we leave Billerbeck on one side we must choose between Mark and John; and it seems to me that the balance of probability is decidedly in favour of John. But if we accept John's date for the last supper, it seems fatal to the identification of the young man who fled naked with Mark. For if that young man was from the house where the last supper was held, he *must* have known whether or not it was a Passover meal; if that young man wrote the Gospel he could not possibly—one would think—have forgotten what night it was when these things happened. It does not seem possible to maintain both the Johannine date for the last supper and the identification of the young man with Mark: and of the two I should be more ready to sacrifice the identification.

We are on firmer ground when we come to Acts. From the early chapters it appears that Mark's home and family played a prominent part in the life of the Early Church. His mother (at this time a widow) was a member of the Jerusalem community, and her house was a regular meeting place of the brethren. When Peter escaped from prison, it was the first place he made for (Ac. xii. 12), and there he found a prayer meeting on his behalf in progress. Mark was also in the movement: he was, in fact, what we call a Jewish Christian. He accompanied Paul and Barnabas on the first missionary journey in the capacity of ὑπηρέτης (Ac. xii. 25; xiii. 5)—assistant or general factotum.

¹ *Jesus-Jeschua*, pp. 80-166, E.T., *Jesus Jeshua*, pp. 86-184.

² *Die Abendmahlsworte Jesu*.

³ *Kommentar*, ii., pp. 812-853.

He continued with them until they came to Perga, where, for some reason, he decided to return to Jerusalem (Ac. xiii. 13). The result of this was that when Paul and Barnabas planned the second journey, Paul would not have Mark again. Barnabas, who was related to Mark (first cousin or uncle), was equally determined to take him, with the result that Paul and Barnabas fell out, and Barnabas undertook a missionary trip of his own to Cyprus, taking Mark with him (Ac. xv. 36-41). These events may be placed in the late 'forties of the first century. There is an interval of about a dozen years before we hear of Mark again in Col. iv. 10 f. and Phm. 24, written from Rome during Paul's detention there. By this time Paul and Mark are completely reconciled. Mark is praised and commended to the Church at Colossæ. It is suggested that he may pay them a visit in the near future. Still later we have a note preserved in II Tim. iv. 11 where Timothy is commanded to bring Mark with him to Rome, 'for he is useful to me for ministering'.¹ Finally, he is referred to by the author of I Peter v. 13, as 'Mark, my son'.

The New Testament evidence goes to show that Mark had considerable opportunities of gathering knowledge of the kind that would later be useful in the composition of the Gospel. It is very far from being the case that Peter was the only one from whom he could learn facts about the Ministry.

The Patristic evidence from Papias onwards lays stress on the Petrine connexion. According to the anti-Marcionite prologue to the Gospel Mark was Peter's dragoman,² and the Gospel was composed in Italy after Peter's 'departure'. This information is also given by Irenæus. Ecclesiastical traditions preserved by Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 16. 1 and ii. 24) declare that Mark was the first to evangelize Egypt, and the first to found churches in

¹ On this passage see P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, p. 123.

² 'Marcus adseruit, qui colobodactylus est nominatus, ideo quod ad ceteram corporis proceritatem digitos minores habuisset. iste interpretis fuit Petri. post excessionem ipsius Petri descripsit idem hoc in partibus Italiae euangelium.' (See De Bruyne, *Rev. Biblique*, 1928, pp. 193-214; Harnack, *SBA*, 1928, pp. 322-341; Howard, *Exp. Ti.*, xlvii. (1936), pp. 534-538). Harnack assigns the prologue to the period A.D. 160-180, and regards the testimony of Irenæus (iii. i, 1, Harvey, ii. 4 ff.) as derived from it.

Alexandria; and that in the eighth year of Nero's reign he was succeeded in the Ministry (λειτουργία) of the community at Alexandria by Annianus.¹ If this implies the death of Mark, then Mark died in 63. But the death of Mark is not explicitly stated by Eusebius in ii. 24, and the tradition transmitted by Irenæus puts the composition of the Gospel in the period after the ἐξοδος of Peter and Paul, which, if it means their death, implies probably a date after 64. It is not necessary to suppose that Mark's activities in Alexandria were terminated by death: a founder-missionary might well move on to other fields when he had got a Church established.

The evidence of Clement of Alexandria² places the composition of the Gospel in Rome at the request of those who heard the preaching of Peter and wished for a permanent record. The views of Peter on this proceeding are not stated in the *Adumbrationes* passage; in Eus. *H.E.* vi. 14. 6, he is represented as non-committal; while in *H.E.* ii. 15 he is said to have authorised the book for reading in the churches.

We have thus evidence from three centres of Early Christianity: Asia, represented by Papias quoting the Elder; Alexandria represented by Clement; and Rome (with Gaul) represented by the anti-Marcionite prologue (followed by Irenæus). The tradition from these three centres is second century. It is of one voice as to the connexion of the Gospel with the preaching of Peter. Clement locates the composition in Rome; the anti-Marcionite prologue says *in partibus Italiæ*; Papias gives no indication. Clement places the writing in the lifetime of Peter, the prologue places it after his 'departure' (*excessio*); Papias implies that the Gospel was written when Mark was no longer associated with Peter, but leaves open the question whether the contact had been terminated by Peter's death or in some other way.

Looking at this tradition as a whole, one begins to wonder

¹ For the Alexandrian Episcopal succession, see Harnack, *Chron.*, i. 96 f., 138 ff., 202 ff.

² Clement is cited by Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 15 and vi. 14. 6: the two passages do not entirely agree. There is a further passage in the *Adumbrationes*, on I Pet. v. 13 (ed. Stählin, iii. p. 206).

whether we have not gone a little too fast in taking Papias and interpreting him in the light of Irenæus (having settled that *ἐξόδος* in Irenæus must mean Peter's death). There are considerations which suggest that the Alexandrian tradition of Clement should not be dismissed without being carefully weighed. First of all there is the fact that ecclesiastical tradition connects Mark himself with the Alexandrian church. Even if this means no more than that the Alexandrian community was a daughter-community of Rome,¹ it does imply a close connexion between Rome, the place of origin of the Gospel, and Alexandria. Secondly while the office of *hermeneutes*, discharged by Mark for Peter, may doubtless be understood in the wide sense already suggested, it would be a mistake to leave out of account the primary significance of the word—'interpreter'. But if Mark was Peter's interpreter during such time as the Apostle was touring the Gentile world, including Rome, that very fact suggests that the tour cannot have been prolonged. If Peter had spent many years in Rome or elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, he would surely have picked up enough Greek to dispense with the services of an interpreter. In that case we should expect that any of his hearers who wished for a permanent record of his teaching could have made one with little or no difficulty. The traditions regarding the origin of Mark's Gospel are not favourable to the theory of a prolonged activity of Peter in the Gentile Christian field. Nor does the New Testament evidence suggest anything of the sort. For the period down to about A.D. 50 all the indications are that Peter's base is Jerusalem, and that his sphere of work is Palestine and Syria. Later, in the middle 'fifties there are traces in Paul's Corinthian correspondence which *may* mean that Peter's following in Corinth was the result of a personal visit to the city.² If he visited Corinth, he may also have gone on to Rome; but there is no trace of his presence there in the closing chapters of Acts or in those letters of Paul which probably

¹ Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, ii. pp. 57 f.

² See Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, i. pp. 109 f. That Peter had visited Corinth was certainly the opinion of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in the second half of the second century. Whether this opinion (stated in a letter to Rome quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* ii. 25. 8) was an inference from the Corinthian letters or rested on local tradition we cannot say.

belong to the Roman captivity. Yet those very letters, which show no trace of Peter's presence, contain greetings from Mark.¹ If Peter had paid a visit to Rome some time between 55 and 60; if Mark had been his interpreter then; if after Peter's departure from the city Mark had taken in hand—at the request of the Roman hearers—a written record of what Peter had said; then the essential points in the evidence would all be satisfied.

A record of what Peter had said on a visit of his kind would not necessarily be a Gospel such as that of Mark now is; but it might well have formed the nucleus of such a work. Further, if Mark had acted as Peter's interpreter in other places besides Rome, he would have a fairly extensive body of Petrine reminiscences at his disposal, when in Rome he undertook the task of writing.² But Petrine material would not be all that he had.

The upshot of all this is that Mark, from the early days of the Jerusalem community, was in touch with the Christian tradition, and had ample opportunity of learning facts about the Ministry quite apart from his association with Peter. There does not seem to be any reason why he should not have used this information in the composition of his Gospel, along with that derived from Peter, especially since, as we have already seen, the Petrine information was not a dictated continuous story, but only separate pieces or small groups gathered probably over a considerable period and recalled at a later date. We should, *prima facie*, expect to find in the Gospel matter that can be called without hesitation 'Petrine'; other material which *may* be Petrine; and, again, other which there is no good reason to assign to Peter at all. That expectation is borne out when we examine the text.

In his valuable and stimulating commentary on Mark,³ C. H. Turner drew attention to a frequently recurring phenomenon in the Gospel. He describes it thus (p. 48):

¹ Col. iv. 10; Phm. 24.

² If there is anything in this, it suggests that the date of Mark may be a few years earlier than is usually thought likely. A date before 60 would be quite possible.

³ In *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, Pt. III, pp. 42-124.

In strong contrast to Matthew and Luke, Mark's Gospel may be called autobiographical. They write *Lives of Christ*, he records the experience of an eye-witness and companion. It is crucial in this respect to note the predominant use of the plural in the narrative of Mark. Time after time a sentence commences with the plural, for it is an experience which is being related, and passes into the singular, for the experience is that of discipleship to a Master. So in i. 21 'they enter Capernaum; and at once he taught on the sabbath in the synagogue'; v. 38, 'they come to Jairus's house; and he sees the tumult . . .'; ix. 33, 'and they came to Capernaum: and when he was in the house he asked them . . .'; x. 32, 'and they were on the road going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus was going on ahead of them . . .'; xi. 12, 'and on the morrow, when they had left Bethany, he hungered'; xi. 27, 'and they came again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking in the temple . . .'; xiv. 32, 'and they came to . . . Gethsemane: and he saith to his disciples . . .'. In none of these cases do either Matthew or Luke retain the plural. . . .

If the reader will now take one step further and put back Mark's third person plural into the first person plural of the narrative, he will receive a vivid impression of the testimony that lies behind the Gospel: thus in i. 29, 'we came into our house with James and John: and my wife's mother was ill in bed with a fever, and at once we tell him about her'.

In his note on Mk. i. 21 (p. 54) Turner gives a list of passages in which 'Mark's third person plural may be reasonably understood as representing a first person plural of Peter's discourses'. The list is as follows: i. 21, 29; v. 1, 38; vi. 53, 54; viii. 22; ix. 14, 30, 33; x. 32, 46; xi. 1, 12, 15, 20, 27; xiv. 18, 22, 26, 32. In what follows I shall refer to the phenomenon appearing in these passages as 'Turner's mark'.

Now if we take the passages that have Turner's mark and examine them in their context, it becomes clear that in some cases the adjoining passages belong naturally to the passages with the mark. For example, in the first chapter, verses 21-28,

the account of the visit of Jesus and his disciples to the Capernaum Synagogue has the Turner mark; and it presupposes verses 16-20 which do not have the mark, but which describe the call of the first four Apostles. Further, in verses 29-31, the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, Turner's mark is present; and again verses 32-39 are the sequel. Now it is admitted by K. L. Schmidt that verses 23-38 form a pre-Markan unity. Similarly, iv. 35-41, which has not the Turner mark, is bound up with v. 1-20 and 21-43, two passages which have the mark; and again the whole section, iv. 35—v. 43, is recognised as a pre-Markan unity by Dibelius and Schmidt. Pursuing this line of inquiry, it becomes possible to draw up a tentative list of Petrine paragraphs in Mark, consisting of those paragraphs which have the Turner mark along with other paragraphs which seem to attach themselves. The extent of the Petrine matter is as follows: i. 16-39; ii. 1-14; iii. 13-19; iv. 35—v. 43; vi. 7-13, 30-56; viii. 14—ix. 48; x. 32-52; xi. 1-33; xiii. 3-4, 32-37; xiv. 17-50, 53-54, 66-72.

The matter dealt with in these sections are the call of the first disciples, the Synagogue service, the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, travel-preaching in Galilee, the cure of the paralytic at Capernaum, the appointment of the Twelve, the storm on the lake, the cure of the Gerasene demoniac, the Hæmorrhousa and the raising of Jairus' daughter, the Mission of the Twelve, their return and the feeding of the 5000, the walking on the sea and the return to Gennesaret, the warning against the leaven of the Pharisees and of Herod, the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida, Peter's confession and the first prediction of the Passion, the Transfiguration, and healing of the epileptic boy, the second prediction of the Passion, the rebuke to jealousy and self-seeking among the disciples. All these events are set on the Galilean background, with Capernaum as the principal centre.

A second group begins with the third prediction of the Passion, on the road going up to Jerusalem, the request of the sons of Zebedee, the cure of Bartimæus, the triumphal entry, the story of the barren fig-tree and the cleansing of the Temple, the question about Jesus' authority, the question about the time of the end, the last supper, the events in Gethsemane, the

arrest of Jesus and removal to the High Priest's house, Peter's denials.

Of the material that falls outside this collection it is not possible here to make a detailed examination. For the present it must suffice to notice a few well-defined blocks. Mark i. 1-15 covers the period prior to the call of Peter; and, at the other end of the story, xiv. 55-65 and xv. 1-xvi. 8 describe incidents at which Peter was not present. (Mk. xiv-xvi is regarded as a pre-Markan unity by K. L. Schmidt.)

The account of the death of the Baptist (vi. 17-29) has its peculiar problems. At the same time, it has all the appearance of being a piece of Palestinian (originally Aramaic) tradition. The most attractive solution is perhaps that proposed by J. Thomas,¹ that the Evangelist has here made use of a written document embodying the tradition of the followers of John, what might be called the *Passio Iohannis* as it circulated in the Johannite² sect.

The so-called 'Little Apocalypse', which appears in the non-Petrine collection, is thought by many to have circulated in the Early Church as a separate document; and it is at least possible that the specimen parables, given with comment in iv. 1-34, were extracted from a collection of parables. The passage x. 1-12 is regarded by Dibelius³ as a pre-Markan unity.

Specially interesting are the two groups of polemical passages in chapters ii-iii and xii. These have been the subject of an illuminating discussion by B. S. Easton.⁴ He observes that the former block *ends* at Mk. iii. 6 with the statement that the Pharisees and Herodians plotted to kill Jesus: the latter *begins* at xii. 13 with the statement that the Pharisees and Herodians sent representatives to entrap him in his talk. Apart from a parallel in Mt. xxii. 16 to Mk. xii. 13, these are the only instances of 'Herodian' in the New Testament. The difficulty about the word, according to Easton, is that while in Galilee 'Herodian'

¹ *Le Mouvement Baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, pp. 110 f.

² Following a suggestion made by Thomas, I use Johannite as a convenient means of distinguishing persons and things connected with the Baptist from those connected with the John (or Johns) of the Early Church.

³ *Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*,² p. 223.

⁴ *Studies in Early Christianity*, ed. S. J. Case, pp. 85 ff.

could mean any official of Herod, it could hardly mean that in Jerusalem where Herod's writ did not run. Hence it must be explained in Jerusalem as being the name for those in Jerusalem who supported Herodian rule, and, since that was not in force in the capital, supported the Roman rule as the next best thing.¹ But it is awkward to have to give two interpretations of the same term. Easton further noted that the plot mentioned in iii. 6 leads to nothing, and indeed comes too early in the story. In xii. 13 however, he argues, the appearance of the Herodians is natural. They were the one class of Jews who favoured the payment of tribute to Rome.

Easton also notes that the matters discussed in these polemical passages would not have any very lively interest for Gentile converts. From that it would presumably follow—though Easton does not argue the case in this way—that they would not be likely to form part of Peter's preaching to the Gentiles.

Easton's solution is that ii. 13—iii. 6 and xii. 13-27 originally formed a single continuous whole; that 'this account was formed in pre-Markan times and belonged to the tradition of the Palestinian Christian community'.² Why did Mark split it up? Having begun to incorporate it where he does he had to 'break off at iii. 5, for tribute to Rome, the theme of the next paragraph was paid only in Judæa, while the Sadducees of xii. 18-27 were scarcely to be found in Galilee. But as iii. 5 was too abrupt a conclusion for the first part, Mark wrote iii. 6, forming it out of the next sentence in the tradition (xii. 13), without noticing (or caring) that he had made Galilean characters of the Herodians. The remainder of the tradition he was obliged to postpone until his narrative could treat of Jerusalem events.'³

All this seems to be quite possible. The only reservation that needs to be made is in favour of ii. 13-14, the call of Levi.⁴ This paragraph seems to me to hang together with the preceding matter.

With this somewhat hasty survey of a large subject the

¹ For a full discussion of the name 'Herodian', see H. H. Rowley's article, 'The Herodians in the Gospels', *J.T.S.* xli. (1940), pp. 14-27.

² *Op. cit.* p. 92.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ I very much doubt whether ii. 15-17 has anything at all to do with ii. 13-14. They could—so far as Mark goes—be treated perfectly well as separate paragraphs.

present discussion must close. It is obvious that there are—and probably always will be—many loose ends. But a few things seem to emerge fairly clearly. First and foremost is the conclusion, suggested by converging lines of argument, that the basis of the Markan story is a good deal broader than we sometimes think. Petrine reminiscence is part of the foundation, perhaps the main part; but other sources have made their contribution. And we need not suppose that ‘non-Petrine’ necessarily means inferior in historical worth. The further we go back the larger the number of available first-hand witnesses becomes. If the identification of the Evangelist with John Mark of Jerusalem is sound, he was from the beginning in touch with many such witnesses. And, secondly, if our interpretation of the traditions about Peter, Mark and the Gospel is anywhere near the truth, the composition of the Gospel may be put several years earlier than the date commonly accepted.

THE MEDIEVAL PARSONAGE AND ITS OCCUPANTS.¹

BY THE REV. JOHN R. H. MOORMAN, B.D.,
EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

THE pilgrim who sets out in this country in search of the old and the beautiful will find himself richly rewarded. Few of the thousands of villages and small towns scattered over the face of England are unable to boast of a parish church whose history can be traced back into the Middle Ages, while the student of architectural types and styles will almost certainly be able to find examples of all that he needs within a few miles of his home. The cathedrals and parish churches are one of the glories of England, a joy both to the tourist and to the professional historian.

My purpose this afternoon, however, is to speak not about the churches but about the men who served them some six or seven hundred years ago. I want you, as it were, in imagination, to step across with me from the parish church to the parsonage house where we will call upon the incumbent and his staff and try to find out how they live and what sort of men they are.

The modern country vicarage or rectory generally gives the appearance of a substantial detached villa or small country-house with a pleasant garden of flowers and a drive up to the front door. The medieval parsonage was a very different place. There were a few, certainly—mainly in the richer parishes and in the Border Country where there was danger of raids—which were substantial stone-built houses; but the majority were just wooden cottages of the type in which the peasant and small holder of those days lived. Even the stone houses were a good deal less commodious than the Georgian and Victorian rectories which stand in many of our villages to-day. The little village of Hale, near Sleaford in Lincolnshire, had a typical parsonage of the better type. But it contained only six rooms—a hall (which served as the living-room), two small rooms adjoining it (no

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 10th of November, 1943.

doubt used as bedrooms), a kitchen, a bakehouse and a brewery. According to our standards this would seem modest enough ; but, compared with the accommodation with which most of the clergy had to be content, it must have appeared luxurious in the extreme and have been looked upon with envy by the incumbents of the district. For there is no doubt that the average house of the medieval parson was nothing more than a two-roomed wooden cabin with a thatched roof. Against very wild and stormy weather such a building would afford little protection, while the danger of fire was one which must have brought considerable anxiety to the occupants. Such a house, moreover, would easily fall into decay, and the poverty of the clergy must often have made it impossible for them to keep their homes in repair.

As we approach our parsonage we must not, therefore, be surprised if we find it in a sad state of delapidation. When, for example, the Dean and Chapter of Exeter visited a number of parishes in Devon in 1301 they found many of the parsonages in disrepair. Winkleigh Vicarage was in a very bad way ; at Harberton the house had entirely collapsed except for the priest's chamber, while at Shute the chaplain's house was in such a ruinous condition that the poor man had to sleep in the church.

In addition to a dwelling-house the average medieval parsonage included a range of farm buildings, for most of the country clergy were at that time agriculturists on quite a considerable scale. It was no unusual thing for a priest to keep cows, sheep and pigs, besides the horse which he would require for visiting the outlying parts of his parish. The Vicar of Chieveley had, at one time, as many as twelve cows, a hundred sheep and twelve pigs ; while a flock of fifty to sixty sheep with half a dozen milking-cows was quite common. Such stock would need looking after, and many parsonage houses had to be provided with stables, cow-houses and pigsties. Moreover, the storage of produce handed over as tithe made it necessary for the rector to have good barns and granaries, safe against marauding neighbours and dissatisfied tithe-payers. The medieval manse, therefore, presented the appearance not of a small country house but of a regular farm-

yard with all the customary sights, sounds and smells of such places. Here the parson lived and worked, dividing his time between the calls of his spiritual and natural sheep ; walking from the stable to the altar and from the sanctuary to the sheep-folds, sharing all the time with his people in the task which occupied so much of their waking hours and of their thoughts, that of making the earth bring forth her increase.

We are so much accustomed nowadays to regard all parishes as being organised on the same system, with the parson, be he rector or vicar, residing in the parish and personally ministering to his flock, that it is easy to forget what great diversity there was among the parishes of England in the Middle Ages.

The first great division was between those parishes which were in the hands of rectors and those which were served by vicars. Now that the distinction between a rector and a vicar has ceased to have much meaning, I am often asked where the difference lies. In point of fact there is nowadays practically no difference, but in the Middle Ages there was a good deal.

In order to explain this difference I must take you back for a moment to the very beginnings of the parochial system in England. In the very earliest times the country was organised on diocesan rather than on parochial lines ; but with the emergence of the manorial system we find also the building, by the local landlords, of what were little more than private churches for the use of those living on the estate. It is from these local churches that our parochial system took its origin. But since the parish had been at first the creation of the local lord who had built and endowed the church and who, under the system of tithes, continued to be its chief supporter, it was not to be wondered at if he claimed certain rights over it. In the first place he reserved to himself the right to appoint the parish priest, a privilege which might be distinctly advantageous if he had a son or a relative whom he wished to set up in life. So down to quite recent times it was customary in some villages for the eldest son of the squire to inherit the hall and estate while the second son took Holy Orders and inherited the living. Secondly, the Anglo-Saxon lord claimed the right to transfer,

if he so desired, the income of the benefice to some other ecclesiastical body so long as the parish church was adequately served. Since a living was often worth twenty or thirty pounds a year and a priest could always be found to do the work for an annual income of about £3, there was generally a considerable balance which the lord considered himself free to "appropriate" to some other aspect of the life and work of the Church. In the religious revivals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries many laymen were moved to make some substantial contribution to the monasteries, with the result that the income of a large number of parish churches was given away. Out of the gross income of the benefice a small sum was set aside for the payment of a priest to serve the church, while the greater part of the living was paid each year into the hands of the monks.

So long as adequate men could be found to minister in these appropriated parishes the system may have worked well enough, but when some of the religious houses contented themselves with searching for the cheapest men whom they could find in the overcrowded labour-market, it was clear that some safeguards were necessary. The solution was found in the establishment of the system of vicarages, a practice which began in this country in the twelfth century and continued for many years. The purpose of this reform was to bring to an end the bad habit of letting parishes out to the man who was willing to take the lowest stipend, and the method was to grant to the vicar of an appropriated parish security of tenure and a minimum wage. The casual priest who was engaged by a religious house to serve the church in any particular parish was at the mercy of his employers who were under no obligation to pay him any specified amount and who could dismiss him at will. The vicar, on the other hand, had his freehold from which he could not be dislodged, while he received a stipend which, if not princely, was at least secure.

By the end of the thirteenth century a large number of English parish churches had been appropriated to the religious houses and a fifth or perhaps a quarter of all the parishes in the country were officially vicarages. The remainder were still in the hands of rectors, but not all of these men approached their

work from the same standpoint. We shall understand the parochial life of the Middle Ages only if we constantly bear in mind the fact that, whereas some rectors regarded their livings as spiritual responsibilities others were content to think of them as little more than financial assets. The distinction between the two was largely, though not wholly, one of class.

If we study the records of ordinations and institutions from the bishops' registers of the time we shall discover that probably most of those who sought ordination and who eventually succeeded to livings were local men, sons of the smaller landowners and of the yeoman class. Many of them were ordained on the title of their own property, showing that they were men who had some private means and were therefore in no danger of becoming a burden to the Church or to the community. Others were sons of craftsmen or tradesmen, boys who had somehow managed to get enough education to pass whatever intellectual tests the bishops demanded. Some, like the "pore persoun" of Chaucer's band of pilgrims who set out "the holy blisful martir for to seek" sprang from the peasant class.

Most of those who came of yeoman or peasant stock were men who were willing to take their spiritual duties seriously by living in their parishes and ministering to their congregations. This is not to say that they were all good priests, or even good men; but at least they made some show of spiritual activity in the parishes to which they were instituted. It was far otherwise with many of those who belonged to the great land-owning families, the Clares, Nevilles, Folioys, Bohuns and others. However anxious the bishops might be to pay no attention to rank and breeding when it came to the selection of ordination candidates, they would find it very difficult to resist the demands of those who belonged to the most powerful families in the land. Much of the patronage of the Church was in lay hands, and it was only natural that fathers should wish to see their sons well provided for. The consequence was that there was in England a group of men, mostly members of the more powerful landed class, who first provided themselves with papal dispensation to hold a number of livings in plurality, and then devoted their energies to the collection of enough benefices to enable them to

live handsomely, and in some cases luxuriously, while taking only a trifling interest in the parishes from which their income was derived.

Typical of this class was Bogo de Clare, a son of the Earl of Gloucester and Hereford. He obtained a dispensation from the Pope to hold benefices up to a total of 400 marks (which would represent some £5,000 in modern currency); but before he had finished he had far exceeded this limit. He began by being presented by his mother to the rich living of Adlingfleet in Yorkshire, and by the year 1280 he held benefices in four other counties and in Ireland, and shortly afterwards acquired fourteen more. By the time of his death in 1291 he held two canonries, three dignities in Cathedral and collegiate churches and twenty-four parishes. His total annual income from these benefices must have been in the region of at least £50,000 in modern currency.

This gigantic income enabled him to live a life of luxury and indulgence while he took only the smallest interest in the parishes from which he drew his money, leaving them to be served by stipendiary priests to whom he paid some trifling sum. Some idea of Bogo's manner of living is to be derived from the extracts from his household accounts which have been preserved. These furnish us with a picture of a very rich man, living in great comfort surrounded by his servants and squires, entertaining groups of actors and bands of musicians, dressing himself in the most costly garments and loading his table with the richest of foods. When I tell you that in one year he spent more on preserved ginger than in the payment of a chaplain to serve one of his livings, it will give you some idea of the manner in which he lived.

Undoubtedly a good many parishes in the Middle Ages were in the hands of such men. Being pluralists they were of necessity also absentees from their livings, in most of which they were probably never seen. Moreover, since they made no pretence to minister in their churches they saw no reason why they should ever proceed to Holy Orders. That a man should be instituted as rector of a parish without the necessary qualifications to conduct the services in the church would seem very strange to us.

But it appears to have caused little surprise to our ancestors seven hundred years ago. Hugh of Welles, as Bishop of Lincoln in the thirteenth century, was a highly conscientious diocesan who worked hard to raise the standards of the parochial clergy ; yet of the 248 men whom he instituted to benefices in the arch-deaconries of Oxford, Buckingham and Stow, only 62 were in priest's orders, eleven were deacons, while the remaining 175 were only sub-deacons or acolytes. Even Welles' successor, the noble Grosseteste, one of the greatest English churchmen of all times, was content to institute large numbers of men in minor orders, less than one-fifth of those whom he sent to the parishes being priests. Many of those who became rectors during these years were also under age, some being small boys of ten or twelve years of age who made the income of the living a convenient method of paying their school-fees.

The number of men who behaved in this way was comparatively small, though, since they were mostly pluralists on a large scale, the number of parishes affected was considerably greater. But, of course, the majority of rectories were in the hands of resident men who occupied the parsonage-houses, farmed the land attached to the benefice, and ministered in the parish church.

We must go on now to the second type of parish, that in which a vicarage had been ordained. Although after the appropriation of a church to a religious house the governing body of that house became titular rector, the actual conduct of parochial affairs was entirely in the hands of the vicar, who, as I have already said, enjoyed that privilege known as the " parson's freehold " which has so profoundly influenced the parochial life of this country all through its history. The vicar, having been appointed to the benefice by the Chapter of the monastic house, drew his income partly from what were called the lesser tithes—that is to say, tithes on all produce except corn—and partly from the freewill offerings of the people. In very few instances could his income be valued at more than about £5 a year ; but such a sum in those days would enable him to live in a modest way, though it would allow very little for the ever-pressing calls of hospitality and charity in a society which knew nothing of Poor Laws or of the organised relief of poverty and sickness.

Since the appropriation of churches to religious houses meant that the monks became responsible for providing someone to serve in these parishes, it might be thought that the easiest thing would be to allow some of their own members to do this, and it is sometimes rather loosely stated that certain parishes were served by monks. The evidence, however, until towards the end of the Middle Ages, is against this. Monks lived under a system which was devised to separate men from the world, and it would therefore be quite alien to the spirit of monasticism to take men out of the cloister and put them into vicarage houses where they would be cut off from the daily society of their fellow-monks and from the whole discipline of corporate life.

On the other hand, canons of the Augustinian and Premonstratensian Orders were quite commonly instituted to the care of parish churches. Some, indeed, of the early Augustinian houses were founded with the express purpose of serving one or more parish churches. This seems to have been the case at Barnwell, near Cambridge; though in this instance the idea did not survive for very long since the canons found it more convenient to delegate the parochial work to vicars and chaplains and to devote themselves to the life of the cloister and to the management of their large and growing estates. Nevertheless, it was not uncommon, all through the Middle Ages, to find canons-regular in charge of parishes. In these cases the parsonage became a kind of cell to the mother house, for it was a recognised thing that no canon-vicar should live alone, but that he should always have with him one or two of his fellows from the abbey or priory.

Thus there were always some parishes in England which were served by regulars, but their number was always small. The great majority of vicars were secular clergy, appointed by the religious houses. Most, but by no means all, of them were in priest's orders; and most were resident, living in the kind of house which I have already described, and sharing it with their colleagues, the chaplains and clerks who assisted the incumbent in the performance of his ministerial duties.

The vast number of these lesser clergy is one of the surprises of medieval history. Jessopp once wrote of England in the

thirteenth century as "swarming with clerics," and there is no doubt that he was justified in the use of this verb, for the most careful calculations, based upon every available scrap of evidence, point to there being something like 40,000 secular clergy in England in the year 1300, as well as about 16,500 monks and friars. If, as is generally supposed, the population of England at that time was little more than three million, this would mean that the proportion of clergy to laity was about one in seventy, whereas nowadays it is one in a thousand. In other words, there were, in proportion to the laity, fourteen times as many clergy as there are to-day.

This "swarm" of 40,000 clerics was spread over about nine thousand parishes, giving to each an average of four or five men. How the income of the normal parish in the Middle Ages ever sufficed to support so large a staff is one of the mysteries which we shall always find it difficult to understand. Yet somehow or other these men managed to keep themselves alive, though their standard of living must have been very low.

The most important of the assistant clergy were the chaplains in charge of outlying chapels, some of whom had their own endowments and lived in comparative independence. Next to them were the annual chaplains who assisted the incumbent at the parish church. These "curates," as we should call them nowadays, were obliged to live on very slender incomes. According to the statutes of William of Blois at Winchester in 1229, annual chaplains were to receive three marks or forty shillings a year. Even if we put it in terms of modern currency it amounts to little more than £1 a week. Yet when the Dean of Salisbury visited the parish of Sonning about this time he found that the chapel of Arborfield was being served by a man who received only half this amount. In the congested condition of the clerical labour-market during these years men were often obliged to offer themselves for hire to anyone who would employ them. A man was not supposed to be ordained without some title, that is, without a guarantee that he would have some means of subsistence; but in many cases the only guarantee which he could offer was very precarious, while some bishops were rash enough to ordain men with no title at all.

In addition to the various chaplains, most of whom were in priest's orders and were therefore able to say Mass and to hear confessions while their own rectors were disqualified by being insufficiently ordained, came the deacons and clerks. In his synodal statutes of 1238 Robert Grosseteste declared that "in every church where funds permit there shall be a deacon and subdeacon to minister therein as is fitting: in other churches there must be at least one adequate and suitable clerk, who, properly attired, shall assist in the divine office." Apart from the assistance which the deacon could render at Mass we know very little of his activities. In the present Anglican service for the ordering of deacons it is stated that "it appertaineth to the office of a deacon to assist the priest in divine service, to read the Scriptures and Homilies in the church, to instruct the youth in the catechism, and to search for the sick, poor and impotent people of the parish that they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners". Similar tasks may well have been assigned to the medieval deacons, since these words, which made their first appearance in 1549, are probably based upon customs with which the Church had long been familiar.

The humblest, but by no means the least important, member of the staff in each parish was the clerk. The office of parish clerk is one which, having held an honourable place in the annals of the Church in this country, has only latterly been allowed to disappear. Throughout the Middle Ages the parish clerk held a position which, though of little substance, was of some security, for he was licensed by the Bishop and held his office as a freehold. In some parishes he was supported by the people, and, in addition to his regular stipend, might collect odd tips and fees, as did the "joly Absolon," clerk of a parish in Oxford, who, in Chaucer's words, could

"lete blood, and clippe and schave
And make a chartre of lond and aquitaunce"

besides his proficiency in dancing and acting and as a performer on the "rubible," an early type of stringed instrument. As a result of his versatility he made quite a considerable income, and was able to dress as a dandy and to woo the carpenter's wife with gifts of "pyment, mead, and spiced ale, and wafres piping

hot." On the other hand, many a parish clerk must have had a perpetual struggle against poverty and the terrors of old age and unemployment. Dr. Hartridge has pointed out how vicars, living on miserably small stipends, were yet expected to support their own clerks ; and one can only wonder how anyone managed to live on the few shillings a year which such an arrangement would allow. Matthew Paris' pathetic little story of the parish clerk whose modest income of twenty shillings a year was reduced, by the rapacity of a papal collector, to eighteen, with the result that he had to sell his books in the Cathedral close in order to keep body and soul together, is probably a fair commentary on the status of the parish clerk in most English parishes.

Such was the staff of the typical English country parish during the Middle Ages, and it is reasonable to suppose that they all lived together in the parsonage. However small and however dilapidated the house might be, it would be the only lodging which these men could either find or afford. Nowadays a clergyman expects to have a room to himself in which to write his sermons and interview his parishioners, but in medieval times there was no such demand for solitude. So long as a man had a roof over his head he cared very little about privacy. The average parish priest of those days had no desire to read or write, and if he interviewed his parishioners it would be in church in the seclusion of the confessional. The parsonage was therefore not, like its modern equivalent, a place for work, but merely a shelter, a convenient lodging for men who spent most of their time away from home.

The house-work, such as it was, was done by a boy. The richer clergy employed a number of such attendants, but even the humblest vicar was expected to have his page. The wages of this scullion were probably extremely small, for he became proverbially one of the poorest members of the community, so that Chaucer's mercenary Pardoner can declare :

" I wol have money, wolle, chese and whete
Al wer it yeven of the prestes page
Or of the porest wydow in a village."

But in addition to those whom I have mentioned as occupants of the medieval parsonage there is no doubt that, in a number of

these houses, there was also to be found the priest's consort whether officially his wife or not. Although the teaching of the Apostles seems to allow of clerical marriage, celibacy had from the fourth century been the rule of the Western Church. It had, however, never been very rigidly enforced until Gregory VII in 1074 adopted it as a part of his programme for Church reform. But while it was easy to say that clergy must be single men, it was very much more difficult to see that the regulation was enforced. In this country, clerical marriages had been quite common in the days before the Norman Conquest, and there is abundant evidence that attempts to abolish them were only very partially successful during the next hundred years. Especially was this so in the North of England where old habits died slowly. The famous Ailred of Rievaulx, for instance, was son, grandson and great-grandson of priests, and several of the Bishops of Durham, and at least one Archbishop of York, were married men and fathers of families.

It was clear, then, that so far as this country was concerned the Hildebrandine reforms were not meeting with the success which was intended; and at the beginning of the thirteenth century another great reforming Pope, Innocent III, made a new effort to put an end to the irregularity of clerical marriages. His attempts seem to have caused some dismay which is reflected in a number of poems written about the year 1216, in which the clergy are made to declare both their determination to keep their wives and also their inability to live without them.

There is sufficient evidence to show that throughout the Middle Ages there was always a number of married clergy in this country though never enough to justify the sweeping statement of Giraldus Cambrensis that "nearly all" the parish priests of England had wives. The Church, moreover, was bound to take notice of these breaches of her own law. Officially, clergy who married were liable to suspension, and vigorous efforts were made from time to time to see that this was carried out, though not always with the success which their promoters might have desired. Even if the authorities achieved some success in the prevention of actual marriages, they were helpless against what Alexander IV called "the notorious cohabitation of clerks with their concubines".

There was certainly, then, in many 'a parsonage house a woman living with the incumbent on terms practically the equivalent of wedlock. Sometimes, as at Broadwas in Worcestershire, the priest attempted to introduce his sweetheart in the disguise of a dairy-maid, but in most instances the woman was recognised as the priest's wife and was accepted as such by the community. Clerical moralists like Robert Manning of Brunne in the fourteenth century might cry shame upon those women who consorted with the clergy, and tell gruesome tales of fiends carrying off the corpse of one who had lived for many years with a priest and borne him four sons ; but on the other hand the daughter of the Rector of Trumpington in the *Reeve's Tale* was considered so well-born and bred that, as Chaucer tells us, "ther durste no wight clepe hir but madame".

Such was the medieval parsonage and such its occupants. It remains only for me to say a few words about the men themselves and the life they lived. But here the difficulties begin. Anyone who sets out to give any kind of picture of medieval social life is faced with the problem of the inadequacy of his material. Evidence exists, but not in sufficient abundance to enable the historian to make the sort of generalisations which the public demands. So far as the parochial clergy are concerned, what evidence have we ?

First we have the testimony of official documents—Bishops' letters and registers, accounts of visitations, and so on. These are immensely valuable in all kinds of ways ; but they need to be treated with caution. Many of them are concerned mainly with the enforcement of discipline, and can therefore easily give us an unbalanced view of the state of the parochial clergy. Then there is the witness of contemporary literature. This also can tell us a good deal, but we have always to remember that fiction is not the best type of evidence. There is no more famous piece of writing about the medieval parochial clergy than Chaucer's description of the "pore persoun" in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. But this is fiction, not evidence. Moreover, Chaucer was anxious to counteract the popular belief, often fostered by the religious themselves, that the members of the

religious orders held a monopoly of holiness. He did it by turning his regulars, monks and friars, into rogues while he makes his parish priest a paragon of virtue and devotion to duty. We must, therefore, be very guarded in using contemporary fiction as evidence of actual conditions in the Middle Ages.

Occasionally the historian stumbles upon some piece of irrefutable evidence—such, for instance, as the Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare to which I have already referred—but for the most part he must gather what scraps of evidence he can and try to fit them together, as a worker in mosaic fits together little coloured stones, to form a picture. But even so he must remember that among his coloured stones many are missing, and that there is nothing more misleading than a generalisation based upon insufficient evidence. Moreover, if he is wise, he will not put all the light-coloured stones into one half of his design and all the dark-coloured ones into the other half. Life is not like that. There are black spots and there are spots of dazzling light, but they appear against a background which is uniformly grey. So in the Middle Ages there were some thoroughly bad parish priests and there were some exceptionally good ones; there were men who were idle and selfish and there were men who attained to great holiness and righteousness of life; but the majority were simple men, not demanding much for themselves and not expecting that others should demand much of them.

Compared with their successors in later generations, the medieval parish clergy were undoubtedly seriously under-educated. When Archbishop Pecham wrote that “the ignorance of priests casteth people into the ditch of error,” since the clergy are like blind guides who will not seek for light where alone it may be found, he was only expressing what was in the minds of many of his contemporaries. Nearly a century earlier Giraldus Cambrensis had enjoyed himself in collecting examples of clerical ignorance, and Roger Bacon and Grosseteste had both complained bitterly of the very low standard of education among so many of the clergy. But I do not think that the clergy were altogether to blame, for educational facilities were in those days far more meagre than they are to-day. It is true that the Univer-

sities of Oxford and Cambridge were beginning to make their influence felt from the thirteenth century onwards, but the proportion of parochial clergy who possessed a university degree remained small. Many towns could also boast of a grammar school or of some kind of academy for the instruction of the young, but even these attracted only a few of those destined for ordination. Try to imagine the sort of homes from which these lads came. If a boy lived in a town of any considerable size or where there was a large church or a Cathedral he would at least have a chance of going to school. But if he lived in the country—and the names of the clergy show that many of them came from tiny villages—opportunities for education were very small. Younger sons of the manorial family might be sent to the nearest grammar school, or they might receive some instruction through living as pages in the household of some nobleman or bishop ; but the struggle for existence in which most of the village community was engaged occupied every member of the poorer families from earliest years. Nowadays a village boy who shows signs of awakening intelligence is taken at the public expense to a central school, where he will be both fed and educated free of charge. But in the Middle Ages any village which was more than a mile or two from a town was almost completely isolated, and no child from such a place could hope to reach any school, apart from the difficulty of any pair of hands, however small, being spared from the labour of the fields and of the home.

We must assume, therefore, that many of those who came up to the bishops for ordination, and who subsequently found their way into the parishes, were men who had had no opportunity of being educated beyond what they could pick up from some sympathetic priest. The clergy of England have always been associated with the instruction of children ; and many a parish priest, then as now, would be willing to help any boy who felt that he had a call to the ministry and lacked only the necessary qualifications of learning to enable him to achieve his ambition. Such a system would not make for a high standard of education among the clergy, for many of those who attempted to give the instruction may have been themselves but poor scholars ; but at least it would help to fill the gaps in the educational system.

And, when all is said and done, although it is right and proper that the clergy should be educated men, the scholar does not always make the best parish priest.

Besides being only a little above the standard of the laity in education, the average parochial clergyman of the Middle Ages lived in every way very much on the same level as the members of his congregation. The habits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have left us a tradition that the clergy should live very much apart from their people. Readers of Trollope will not need to be reminded of the vast gulf which yawned between the clergy and the country people of the villages of Barsetshire. Even poor Mr. Crawley, who was so much looked down on by the gentry of the county, was intensely conscious of the social distinctions between himself and the brickmakers of Hoggle End. But in the Middle Ages such "class distinctions" (for what else can we call them?) would exist only where the members of the more powerful families were concerned. The average parish priest of those days not only shared in the same standard of living as his poorer parishioners, but he was also thrown constantly into contact with them through being engaged upon the same tasks as those which occupied their days. I have already mentioned the fact that many of the country clergy in those days were farmers, and, as those of us who work on the land know, you cannot work a smallholding without constantly rubbing shoulders with your neighbours. If that is true to-day how much more must it have been true in the days when a man's land was scattered about the parish, a strip here and a sellion there, and when every journey to any part of his holding necessitated his crossing the land of his neighbours.

If the country parson was thus accustomed to mingle with his parishioners in their work, it is little wonder if he also joined them in their hours of recreation. While the richer clergy took their delight in field sports—to the great indignation of William Langland, who thought that the sporting parson should be unfrocked even if allowed to go unhung:

"Haukyng other hontyng, yf eny of hem hit usie
Shal lese ther-fore hus lyue-lode—and hus life paraurenture"—

while the rich were thus employed, the poorer clergy found their solace in the rough sports of the villagers and in the uncertain pleasures of the bottle. Episcopal decrees are full of denunciations of those among the clergy who were accustomed to drink too much, Bishop Quivil of Exeter, for example, urging his clergy to give up spending nights in drinking and foolish talk, but rather to go home and sleep soberly so that they may be in a fit state to say their offices when morning comes. Drunkenness is, in our own days, a thing so degrading and unnecessary that we should be rightly shocked to hear of any clergy who were guilty of it. But censures which would be justified to-day can hardly be applied to those who lacked so many of the things which we enjoy. Many of the medieval clergy lived in isolated villages and hamlets, cut off from all chance of sober relaxation and with none of the solaces of home-life or of books. We must not, therefore, be too hard upon them if they sought companionship and recreation in the tavern.

Poor, badly-housed, cut off from all legitimate pleasures of family life, ill-educated, terribly isolated and with little chance of preferment, the average parish priest of medieval England lived a hard life. But it was not without its compensations. However humble his position in the hierarchy he knew himself to be a member of a great spiritual fellowship, a corporation which had behind it illimitable reserves of power and of prestige. Nor were the compensations confined to this world. Beyond "our bourne of Time and Place" lay another and a better world to which all those who had served their Master faithfully were hastening. Every child was familiar, in those days, with the great "doom" painted upon the wall of the church, with its grotesque portrayal of heaven and hell. Almost everyone was haunted all through life by the thought of possible damnation and endless torment. To be a priest did not necessarily ensure salvation, but it put a man on the side of the angels and gave him something to offer at the Judgement-seat of Christ.

A NEW SOLUTION OF THE GALATIANS PROBLEM.¹

By DOM BERNARD ORCHARD.

THE Problem of the Galatians has two parts : firstly, the question of the date of the Epistle and the identity of the Churches of Galatia to which St. Paul wrote ; and secondly, the question whether he ever visited the northern parts of the Roman Province of Galatia (which depends on the interpretation of Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23). Of these two questions the former is by far the more important ; and though they are to a certain extent inter-connected, they are quite distinct and must be treated separately if any useful conclusions are to be reached. Hence this paper makes no attempt to deal with the less important aspect of the Problem, but confines itself to answering the question : To what particular Churches of his own foundation was St. Paul speaking when he wrote his Epistle to the Churches of Galatia (Gal. i. 2)? And who were his lovable but 'foolish Galatians'? Was he addressing the people of South Galatia whom he converted on his first missionary journey, or the inhabitants of Pessinus and Ancyra in the north of Galatia? Though this question has been debated by students of St. Paul for more than a century, no agreed solution has yet been achieved, in spite of much research, especially by the late Sir William Ramsay, to whom every student of the question is greatly indebted.

The present attempt at a solution is based on a careful survey of the various solutions already propounded, and suggests a compromise view which would seem to weld all the best elements of the North and South Galatian Hypotheses into a satisfactory synthesis.

The North Galatian Hypothesis, which is the ancient and

¹ The substance of a Paper read to the Conference of Ecclesiastical Studies held at Upholland College on April 30th, 1943.

traditional view, asserts that St. Paul, after confirming the Churches of South Galatia on his second missionary journey, visited North Galatia ('passing through Phrygia and the Galatian region', Acts xvi. 6), and that he wrote the Epistle shortly afterwards to the Churches founded by him up there, probably sending it from Ephesus. Thus in the North Galatian view St. Paul's Jerusalem visit mentioned in Gal. ii. 1 is to be identified with the third Jerusalem visit of Acts xv. 2 f.

The South Galatian Hypothesis, on the contrary, asserts that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Churches which he founded in the course of his first journey through the South Galatian towns of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and the frontier-town of Derbe, all of which were at that time within the borders of the Roman Province of Galatia.¹ The point to seize upon is, that if he really wrote his letter to the South Galatians, it could have been written any time after his first journey, and possibly even before the Council of Jerusalem, Acts xv; whereas, if he really wrote it to the North Galatians, then the letter could not have been composed until at least the latter part of his second journey, and so could not have been written before the Council of Jerusalem. Thus, if you take the North Galatian view, the Epistle could have had nothing to do with the Circumcision Controversy at Antioch which was the cause of the Council of Jerusalem. But if you take the South Galatian view, the Epistle may have been written before the Council; in which case it would give us a wonderful insight into St. Paul's mind at the height of the Controversy which led to the Council.

¹ I have avoided Ramsay's own definition, as leading to confusion, viz. "The South Galatian theory is that no Churches were founded by Paul in North Galatia" (*Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 128, 1900 ed.). By 'North Galatia' and 'South Galatia' I mean the northern and southern parts respectively of the Roman Province of Galatia as it existed at the time of St. Paul's journeys, see frontispiece to Ramsay, *op. cit.* A variant of the South Galatian theory is the view of Lattey, Manson and others, who, while agreeing with Lightfoot that Galatians was written after the third journey, hold nevertheless that it was sent to the South Galatians,—though to do so they have to explain away the Apostolic Decrees, and also St. Paul's silence about them in the Epistle.

ST. PAUL'S VISITS TO JERUSALEM.¹

Acts.

First Visit, ix. 26-30. Παρα-
γενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ
ἐπείραζεν κολλᾶσθαι τοῖς μαθη-
ταῖς . . . ²⁷ Βαρναβᾶς δὲ ἐπι-
λαβόμενος αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν πρὸς
τοὺς ἀποστόλους . . . ²⁸ καὶ ἦν
μετ' αὐτῶν εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ
ἐκπορευόμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ,
παρρησιαζόμενος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
τοῦ κυρίου, ²⁹ ἐλάλει τε καὶ συνε-
ζήτει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς· οἱ
δὲ ἐπεχείρουν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν.
³⁰ ἐπιγινόντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κατή-
γαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Καισάρειαν καὶ
ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτὸν εἰς Ταρσόν.

Second Visit (Famine Relief
Visit), xi. 27-30 ; xii. 25. Ἐν
ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατήλ-
θον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφή-

Galatians.

First Visit, i. 18-22. Ἐπειτα
μετὰ τρία ἔτη ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερο-
σόλυμα ἱστορῆσαι Κηφᾶν, καὶ
ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δε-
καπέντε· ¹⁹ ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποσ-
τόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰμὴ Ἰάκωβον
τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου. ²⁰ ἃ δὲ
γράφω ὑμῖν, ἰδοὺ ἐνώπιον τοῦ
θεοῦ ὅτι οὐ ψεύδομαι. ²¹ Ἐπειτα
ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς Συρίας
καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας. ²² ἤμην δὲ
ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπῳ ταῖς
ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς
ἐν Χριστῷ. . . .

Second Visit (Conference
Visit), ii. 1-10. ¹ Ἐπειτα διὰ
δεκατεσσάρων ἑτῶν πάλιν
ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ

¹ The reason for the division of the text of Gal. ii. 3-5 by means of dashes and brackets will be explained later. As to the text of Gal. ii. 3-5, it is well established, although Zahn wished to omit the words *οἷς οὐδὲ* in verse 5. These words are read by all the Greek MSS. (including \aleph B) except D, Irenaeus, Victorinus, Tertullian, Ambrosiaster, Primasius, and the Old Latin, which omit them. Intermediate stages between these two readings are found in Marcion, some Greek MSS. known to Victorinus and the Peshitto Syriac, which read *οὐδὲ* without *οἷς*, and in Jerome's *Commentary on Galatians* which implies *οἷς* without *οὐδὲ*.

"The inclusion of both words in the text," writes Lake (*The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, The Acts of the Apostles*, Vol. 5, pp. 196 f.), "has in so far a claim to recognition that it has not merely much manuscript support, but provides a sentence so impossible to construe and difficult to explain that it would always invite alteration." In other words, the omission of the words *οἷς οὐδὲ* in the Western Text may here be fairly attributed to the desire of a few scribes to render grammatically intelligible an otherwise hopelessly obscure sentence. Thus there is no solid reason for doubting that by keeping *οἷς οὐδὲ* the bulk of the MSS. have here preserved the true reading. The chief importance of these variants is, as Lake adds, that they "show that from the beginning no one was quite sure what certain details in the passage meant."

Acts.

ται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· ²⁸ ἀναστὰς δὲ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἀγαθος ἐσήμαινεν διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος λιμὸν μεγάλην μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ἣτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου. ²⁹ τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν καθὼς εὐπορεῖτό τις, ὥρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς· ³⁰ ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Σαῦλον.

xii. 25. Βαρναβᾶς δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν . . .

Third Visit (Council Visit), xiv. 26-27; xv. 1-5. κακεῖθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, . . . ²⁷ Παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀνήγγελλον ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν θύραν πίστεως. . . .

xv. ¹ Καί τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ περιτμηθῇτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι. ² γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρναβᾶ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρναβᾶν καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς

Galatians.

Βαρναβᾶ, συμπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον· ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν· ² καὶ ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ κηρύσσω ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, μὴ πως εἰς κενὸν τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον. —

³ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἕλλην ὢν, ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι· ⁴ (διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους ψευδαδελφούς, οἵτινες παρεισῆλθον κατασκοπῆσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν ἣν ἔχομεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἵνα ἡμᾶς καταδουλώσουσιν· ⁵ οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν τῇ ὑποταγῇ, ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς []) —

⁶ ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι, (ὅποιοί ποτε ἦσαν οὐδέν μοι διαφέρει· πρόσωπον θεοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει) ἐμοὶ γὰρ οἱ δοκῶντες οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, ⁷ ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἰδόντες ὅτι πεπίστευμαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας καθὼς Πέτρος τῆς περιτομῆς, ⁸ (ὃ γὰρ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ἐνήργησεν καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη), ⁹ καὶ γινόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκῶντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρναβᾶ κοινωνίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· ¹⁰ μόνον τῶν

Acts.

τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυ-
 τέρους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ περὶ τοῦ
 ζητήματος τούτου. ³οἱ μὲν οὖν
 προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας διήρχοντο τὴν τε Φοινίκην
 καὶ Σαμάρειαν ἐκδιηγούμενοι
 τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ
 ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσιν
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ⁴παραγενόμενοι
 δὲ εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρεδέχθη-
 σαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν
 ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυ-
 τέρων, ἀνήγγειλάν τε ὅσα ὁ θεὸς
 ἐποίησεν μετ' αὐτῶν. ⁵Ἐξανέ-
 στησαν δέ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
 αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πε-
 πιστευκότες, λέγοντες ὅτι δεῖ πε-
 ριτέμνειν αὐτοὺς πᾶραγγέλειν
 τε τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως.

Galatians.

πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, ὃ
 καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῇ-
 σαι.

All students of the Galatians Problem recognize that the crux of the whole matter lies in the relation subsisting between the two visits of St. Paul to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. i-ii and his first three visits mentioned in Acts. All important critics agree in identifying the first visit of Gal. i. 18-20 with the first visit of Acts ix. 26 f., but the two camps are equally divided as to whether the second visit of Gal. ii. 1-10 ought to be identified with the second or the third visit mentioned in Acts (xi. 27 f. ; xv. 2 f.).

The main argument for the North Galatian Hypothesis (and for the above-mentioned variant of the South Galatian Hypothesis), which would, as we have said, identify what Galatians (ii. 1) suggests to be the second visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem with his third visit according to Acts (xv. 2 f.), is said to lie in what Lightfoot called "the striking coincidence of circumstances" between the third visit of Acts and the second of Galatians. "The geography is the same . . . the time is

the same, or at least not inconsistent . . . the persons are the same . . . the subject of dispute is the same . . . the character of the conference is in general the same . . . [and finally] a combination of circumstances so striking is not likely to have occurred twice within a few years" (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 123, 124, 8th ed., 1884). Now, though I would dispute the argument that 'the character of the conference is the same,' the list of coincidences still remains most striking. Nevertheless Lightfoot had to admit the existence of many discrepancies in the two accounts. One of the most important is the difficulty over the nature of the council in each; according to Galatians the conference was private, according to Acts it was public. The argument of Lightfoot and Lagrange, that St. Paul alludes only to the private history of the conference whose public session is alone described by St. Luke, does not evade the objection that "the whole point of St. Paul's recital in Gal. ii is that the proceedings were not public, but private" (Blunt, *Galatians*, p. 81). It is still more extraordinary, if Galatians was written after the Council of Jerusalem, that it should contain no mention of, or even allusion to, the Apostolic Decrees. For those Decrees were a justification in principle of St. Paul's attitude to circumcision, and it is inadequate to argue, as Lightfoot does, that St. Paul could not have quoted the Decrees in his Epistle to the Galatians without giving them the impression that he was subservient to the Apostles at Jerusalem. All the same, despite these weaknesses, Lightfoot's views held sway until the end of the last century, his commentary on Galatians having been first published in 1865.

Then came the challenge of Ramsay, who convinced himself after first-hand exploration of Asia Minor on foot that the traditional view so ably expounded by Lightfoot did not at all square with the historical geography of that part of the world. Ramsay felt convinced that the South Galatian Hypothesis was in fact the correct one, and his powerful advocacy soon obtained it a fresh hearing.¹ After showing quite conclusively that in

¹ Cf. *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 1st ed., 1895; *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1896, "The 'Galatia' of St. Paul and the 'Galatic Territory' of Acts"; *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, 1899-1900.

the time of St. Paul the Roman Province of Galatia embraced not only the region inhabited by the Gauls in the north (from whom the Province had derived its name) but also those parts of Phrygia, Pisidia and Lycaonia to the south which were evangelized on the first missionary journey, he felt convinced that the second visit of Galatians corresponded with the second visit of Acts. He not only thought he could prove that St. Paul's Galatians were the actual converts of the first journey, but he was also sure that the second visit of the Apostle was a private consultation undertaken in order to avoid future misunderstandings and not the public disputation which we find at the third visit of Acts. The North Galatianists denied the validity of the former argument, and in reply to the latter retorted that verses 4 and 5 of Gal. ii (about the false brethren) clearly describe a public quarrel and not a private dispute; and this being so, they pertinently inquired why, if the whole question of circumcision had really been settled beforehand by the Apostles at the second visit, the latter should have pretended to argue it all *de novo* at the meeting described in Acts xv, as though they had never discussed, much less settled, the problem. And to this retort Ramsay was never able to give an effective reply despite the extraordinary attractiveness of his hypothesis in other respects. Thus each side was capable of dealing the other a knock-out blow; for while Ramsay could prove that the conference described in Gal. ii was a private one and bore no resemblance to the Council of Jerusalem, Lightfoot's supporters argued just as soundly that the dispute mentioned in that very chapter was a public dispute identical with that of Acts xv, and that no one with an historical sense could believe that the same situation could happen twice within the space of three or four years in the same manner, place and so on. Ramsay, it seems, relied chiefly on verses 1 and 2, and 6-10 of the second chapter of Galatians, Lightfoot more on verses 4 and 5. The consequence is an apparent contradiction. Each was right as far as he went, and ever since commentators have taken sides according to their estimate of the relative importance of the secondary arguments advanced by the one side or the other.

The dilemma has been most clearly seen and stated by

Kirsopp Lake. This scholar, believing that St. Paul, as a first-hand authority, must be preferred to St. Luke when the two differ, follows Schwartz in holding (though not without some qualms) that Luke has quite unnecessarily separated the single visit described in the second chapter of Galatians into two distinct visits. Hence Lake is prepared to argue that the visit of Acts xi (the Famine Relief Visit) and the visit of Acts xv (the Council visit) are both descriptions of the visit referred to in the second chapter of Galatians, derived from different sources and described from different points of view (*The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 5, p. 201). Now, although this theory seems to me to be incompatible with belief in the historical reliability of Acts, it does at all events bear witness to the reality of the difficulty of reconciling Acts with Galatians.

Some have thought to avoid the dilemma by inventing a visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem which has not been disclosed either in Acts or Galatians. But while it is conceivable that Acts may not give us the full total of St. Paul's visits to Jerusalem, there is no possibility of inserting an unrecorded visit in the vital place, viz., between ch. xi and ch. xv. As to Galatians, it is an essential part of the autobiographical argument of the first two chapters to mention *every* occasion on which he came into contact with the Jerusalem leaders, and to keep back nothing of his relations with them. If he had done so, he would stand convicted of falsehood (cf. i. 20; also Blunt, *Galatians*, 1925, pp. 51 f.).

What is now the position? We cannot postulate an unrecorded visit and we cannot accept the fatally compromising view of Lake and others. Is there any other loophole which can save us from frustration? There does remain one possibility which it is surprising that no one has seen before. Instead of saying, with Lake, that St. Luke has made two visits out of one, it will be worth while examining the exactly opposite hypothesis, viz., that St. Paul has misled us into making one visit out of two.

Has it ever struck you that verses 3, 4 and 5 of Gal. ii form a parenthesis almost unconnected with verses 1-2, 6-10? What I am suggesting is, that verses 1-2, 6-10 all refer to St. Paul's

second visit to Jerusalem (which Ramsay identifies with the Famine Relief Visit of Acts xi) and that verses 4-5 refer to the Circumcision Controversy at Antioch which was the cause of St. Paul's third visit to the Holy City (Acts xv). If this is the case, the dilemma is solved. The very simplicity of this solution to some extent explains why it has been overlooked, but two other reasons may be given: firstly, the natural obscurity of the whole passage, especially of verses 3, 4 and 5; secondly, the failure of commentators to grasp the part played by Titus in the argument of St. Paul. The best way to find out if verses 3-5 form a parenthesis is to see if the remainder of the passage makes good sense without them.

Gal. ii. 1-2. Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus¹ also with me. And I went up by revelation;² and I laid before³ them⁴ the gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately before them who were of repute⁵ lest by any means I should be running, or had run, in vain.⁶

¹ The Greek construction suggests that Titus was in a subordinate position.

² Better, 'in obedience to a revelation': a *private* revelation, not the one made to Agabus, as Ramsay thought.

³ The Greek ἀνεθέμην suggests that he did not submit his Gospel for their approval, but consulted them as an equal (cf. Lagrange, *Épître aux Galates*, in *loc.*, giving an excellent quotation from Ambrosiaster).

⁴ 'them' in this context seems to be the Apostles rather than the inhabitants of Jerusalem (but cf. Lagrange, *op. cit.*, on i. 19).

⁵ 'them who were of repute' does not here have a depreciatory sense, but means 'the recognized or accepted leaders', i.e., the authorities (cf. Lagrange, *op. cit.*, in *loc.* ³, Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 301).

⁶ The clause does not imply that St. Paul had any fears as to the outcome of the Conference. He, of course, had no doubt whatever of the truth of his own Gospel which he had received direct from God, but the divine revelation reminded him of the necessity of keeping in step with the Apostles in Jerusalem. He was quite sure in advance of the answer, but the assurance of the support of Peter, James and John would greatly strengthen his hand in his future missionary enterprises. Ambrosiaster comments: "Now he could not learn anything from them, because he had been taught by God: but it was ordained by God that he should act thus for the sake of peace and concord, in order that any scruple or suspicion of his brethren and fellow-apostles might be removed and that the Gentiles might have the benefit of knowing that his Gospel agreed with the teaching of the great Apostles" (quoted by Lagrange, *op. cit.*). He consulted them, therefore, solely that there might be one policy as well as one doctrine in relation to the reception of Gentile converts.

. . . 6-10. But from those who were reputed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me : God accepteth not man's person)—they, I say, who were of repute, imparted nothing to me : ¹ but contrariwise, when they saw that I had been intrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with *the gospel* of the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision; only *they would* that we should remember the poor; which very thing I was also zealous to do.² (R.V.)

It is obvious that these verses by themselves afford a coherent and logical account of St. Paul's second contact with the Apostles at Jerusalem, and it is also clear that if this procedure be legitimate we have removed the principal obstacle to the identification of this visit with the Famine Relief Visit (Acts xi. 27-30); for it is the so-called attempt to get Titus circumcised which is at the root of the whole trouble. (See Appendix for discussion of certain other objections to equating these visits.) If, therefore, we prescind from verses 3-5 the remainder becomes a perfectly straightforward account of St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem.

I ought, perhaps, at this stage to remind you that by this recital of his Jerusalem visits St. Paul seeks to prove that he was not in any way subordinate to the authorities at Jerusalem and that he was an Apostle in as full a sense as any of the original Twelve; indeed, he declares that his own mission was straight from God, just like St. Peter's (i. 12; ii. 7, 8; cf. Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, 1912, pp. 141 f.). He is able to show that whenever he came into contact with them they added nothing to his doctrine (cf. ii. 6), though they were in complete doctrinal and social harmony with him on the

¹ i.e., imparted no fresh knowledge to me (so Lightfoot and Blunt, against Lagrange).

² The Greek ἐπορεύσασα ποιῆσαι probably means 'I then did'.

question of the Gospel which he preached to the uncircumcised Gentiles.

You will, I think, agree that it would be highly convenient to put verses 3-5 in a watertight compartment, but at first sight the text seems very much against this procedure and would seem to demand that the parenthesis begin only at verse 4. My next step is to show that the parenthesis not only can but must begin at verse 3. Verses 3-5 run as follows:

But not even Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of the false brethren privily brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour; that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you. (R.V.)

Now though some critics maintain that St. Paul did not give in and allow Titus to be circumcised, nearly all would agree that an attempt was made at the time of that visit. Most translations suggest this.¹ The modern commentators, who are equally divided, usually argue the matter in this way. Did St. Paul mean to say that Titus was *not* circumcised in spite of pressure brought to bear to have him thus treated? Or did he mean to say that Titus was not *compelled* to be circumcised, and that he yielded only by way of concession? It is in this connexion that Burkitt remarks (*Christian Beginnings*, p. 118): "Who can doubt that it was the knife which really did circumcise Titus that has cut the syntax of Gal. ii. 3-5 to pieces?" Nevertheless I think the balance of probability is against any such action having been taken. For if Titus had really been circumcised to appease popular clamour it is unreasonable to suppose that St. Paul would have chosen to remind the Galatians

¹ In the R.V. quoted above the words 'and that' are a gloss and require the mental addition of some such words as 'although an attempt was made to circumcise him because of . . .'. A recent American translation, issued by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (U.S.A., 1941), renders more explicitly: "But not even Titus, who was with me, Gentile though he was, was compelled to be circumcised, although *it was urged* on account of false brethren who were brought in secretly . . .". Here, 'it was urged' is the translator's gloss implying an attack on Titus.

of a fact so extremely damaging to his whole case ; he would surely have kept silent about it. No ; Titus was obviously well known to the Galatians and his name seems to have been introduced as an argument for Gentile freedom. If, then, St. Paul did not circumcise Titus, why has he dragged the latter's name into this context at all ? There must be a definite reason. " But not even Titus, who was with me, Gentile though he was, was compelled to be circumcised." Does the text state that an attack was made on him ? No, it does not. Suppose, then, for a moment, that commentators have too hastily assumed that the question of circumcising Titus arose on the occasion of the second visit. As Ramsay pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 298), had the question been raised formally, it would have been a test case, as Titus was distinctly a person of standing in the Church, and if the Apostles had solemnly and officially decided that Titus need not accept the rite, that would practically have decided the present case in Galatia.

Since, then, St. Paul does not actually say that the case of Titus was raised, is it not possible that he is interpolating a remark to the effect that the authorities in Jerusalem had once deliberately refrained from making a test case of Titus precisely because they had no quarrel with St. Paul's views on circumcision ? Such a remark would enormously strengthen his whole argument ; and it would also follow as a corollary that there was never any *real* connexion between the presence of Titus in Jerusalem at that time and the Circumcision Controversy which inspired Galatians. The only connexion between these two matters is, on this supposition, the purely *logical* one given to them here by St. Paul for the purpose of the argument of the Epistle.

Why, then, does St. Paul suddenly interject this parenthetic remark about Titus if he is not referring to an event that really happened on that second visit ? Because whilst he was dictating the Epistle, indignant at the challenge to his authority, it suddenly struck him as a forcible argument with which to refute the Judaizers of Galatia that the fact that the Apostles did nothing about the Gentile Titus (with his Galatian acquaintances) on that occasion showed that they agreed with him in recognizing

“the freedom of the Gentiles” from the burden of the Mosaic Law. And so, forsaking all of a sudden the train of thought he has pursued in verses 1 and 2, he breaks in with this new debating point against his Judaizing opponents, for all the world as if he were afraid he would forget it if he did not set it down there and then.

In summing up so far, I should like to paraphrase verses 1-3 somewhat after this fashion: “I went up to Jerusalem after fourteen years, with Barnabas, by divine command—taking Titus too—to make quite sure that I had the full approval of the chief Apostles before undertaking the conversion of the West, and that my policy regarding the admission of uncircumcised Gentiles into the Church was in full harmony with theirs. The following fact will prove this to you, and may impress you in your present wavering mood, viz., that on that occasion the Apostles tacitly approved of my having Titus as a collaborator, uncircumcised Gentile though he is. For you will readily understand that these Apostles would not have allowed me to bring Titus into association with them unless they were already committed in principle to the admission of uncircumcised Gentiles into the Christian fellowship. Thus you see that all that while ago the authorities in Jerusalem approved of my attitude.”

If I have succeeded in making my meaning clear, you will now be demanding an explanation of verses 4 and 5 which appear to contradict much of what I have just said. In the first place the particle *δέ* at the beginning of verse 4 obviously connects it with verse 3. But before the connexion between verse 3 and verses 4-5 can be grasped, the meaning of the latter must first be determined. Here is a further difficulty, since these two enigmatic verses form one long involved sentence without subject or main verb. The omission, as we have seen, cannot be attributed to the error of a copyist, for the manuscript tradition solidly supports the existing text. Omissions of this sort are in fact a not too uncommon trick of St. Paul, other examples of which may be found in Rom. viii. 3 and 2 Thess. ii. 7. But while we may justly surmise that the Galatians were able to supply the omitted subject and verb, they did not succeed

in handing down their exegesis to posterity, as the divisions among the commentators prove. The omitted subject and verb ought surely to be traceable from the context, or St. Paul (we may reasonably hope) would not have left them out. Now the conjunction $\delta\epsilon$ in verse 4 indicates a contrast between the matter of verse 3 and that of verse 4. Our previous exegesis of verse 3 at once suggests that the contrast is between the tolerance of the Jerusalem Apostles (who made no attempt to impede the liberty of the Gentiles from circumcision when they had had a good opportunity to make a test case of Titus) and the subversive action of certain false brethren who were making a great effort to enslave them. The master impulse which dictated the composition of Galatians was St. Paul's resolve to safeguard at all costs this 'liberty of the Gentiles'. This liberty, as St. Paul tells us by implication in verse 3, had been respected by the authorities at Jerusalem in the case of Titus, but it is abundantly clear that it was being endangered among the Galatians when he wrote to them. Let us therefore watch the effect of restoring the omitted subject and main verb by the words 'the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger'.

3.—But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Gentile, was compelled to be circumcised 4 but because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude, 5 to whom we yielded not by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you, *the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger*— (D.V.)¹

"—But because of false brethren unawares brought in, *the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger . . .*". With this simple addition the whole passage now makes sense without any straining of the text. Indeed, it gives new meaning to the whole of Gal. ii. 1-10. The cause of St. Paul's anger and alarm about the Galatians is the fact that the 'liberty of the Gentiles' in Galatia is in danger from false brethren stealthily brought in,

¹ I quote this time from the Douay Version which here at least preserves more faithfully than any other rendering the ambiguity and broken grammar of the original Greek.

who are striving to pervert his recent converts and bring them into Mosaic servitude. The thing that the great Apostles did not dream of doing when St. Paul took Titus up to Jerusalem was now being impertinently attempted by certain bogus interlopers in an underhand manner at the very time of his writing. Hence his Epistle. Moreover, it is to be noted that though he can say that he has stoutly resisted their machinations, his words imply that he has not yet effected their discomfiture. I submit, therefore, that the necessary translator's gloss in verses 4 and 5 must be the words "the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger". The mental addition of this simple clause not only explains the otherwise grammatically impossible verses 4 and 5 but also explains the difficult statement of verse 3. We now see not only that verses 3-5 (inclusive) are parenthetic but that verses 4 and 5 form a parenthesis within the parenthesis—with the additional complication that the inner parenthesis lacks both subject and main verb! The advantage of this solution is its extreme simplicity; it involves no emendation or alteration of the existing text, but merely a revision of the punctuation followed by modern editors, together with the italicized insertion of the gloss "the liberty of the Gentiles is now in danger".¹

We are now in a position to understand why both North and South Galatianists have been able to claim the second chapter of the Galatian Letter in support of their views; for we see that while verses 1-2 and 6-10 describe his second visit to Jerusalem (cursorily mentioned in Acts xi. 27-30), verses 4 and 5 describe the tense situation at the time of writing, just before the Council of Jerusalem, verse 3 being the logical connexion between the two sections. It also explains why the proponents of each theory have stuck to their guns and refused to quit their positions. For there is truth on both sides; and though the lion's share undoubtedly goes to the South Galatianists, the North Galatianists were entirely right in refusing to allow their

¹ Whether we supply 'our liberty' or 'the liberty of the Gentiles' is immaterial since St. Paul is certainly speaking for the Gentile point of view, though he himself seems to have freely chosen to conform to the strictly Jewish way of life in order to disarm the criticism of his Jewish brethren and opponents. For some further details of the exegesis of Gal. ii. 3-5, see *J.T.S.*, Oct.-Dec., 1942, "A Note on the Meaning of Gal. ii. 3-5".

opponents to explain away the parenthesis about the "false brethren", and in claiming that they were identical with the Judaizers of Acts xv. Now at last there seems to be good reason for a final demarcation between the claims of the opposing hypotheses. To the South Galatian Hypothesis must be conceded the identification of the second visit in Acts with the second visit in Galatians. To the North Galatian Hypothesis, on the other hand, it must be conceded that verses 4 and 5 of Gal. ii must refer to the Circumcision Controversy at Antioch, as related in Acts xv, and not to an incident alleged to have taken place at the second or some later visit; and so it may be conceded that verses 4 and 5 allude indirectly to the third visit of Acts.

If the foregoing explanation is correct, it throws an entirely new light on the origin of the Galatian Epistle and on the Circumcision Controversy generally. For the situation which Gal. ii is now seen to describe for us can surely be no other than that found at the beginning of Acts xv, seen, however, from the angle of St. Paul himself. Some of the Judaizers who had gone down to Antioch must have gone on to Galatia unknown to St. Paul, and, without his permission, started to preach their false doctrine among his recent converts. When this news came to his ears his indignation and dismay knew no bounds, for his own conflict with these false brethren was so very recent (cf. Gal. ii. 4; Acts xv. 1, 2) and the issue still undecided. Unable to visit them himself at the moment (iv. 20), he at once sat down and dictated our Epistle. As to the date of writing, it must have been despatched sometime between the Controversy at Antioch and the opening of the Council of Jerusalem, that is to say, in the course of his leisurely journey from Antioch to Jerusalem, described in Acts xv. 3; for our new gloss will allow of no other supposition. Galatians is therefore the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles and was written at the height of the Circumcision Controversy of Acts xv.

The acceptance of this view of the harmonization of Acts and Galatians carries with it some very interesting corollaries. In the first place, we see that Galatians throws much light on the Famine Relief Visit of Acts xi (which St. Luke dismisses

so briefly) and explains its real significance in the divine plan of Church expansion. In a momentous hour, Peter, James and John not only recognized and accepted St. Paul's credentials to having a mission direct from God, like Peter himself, but cordially agreed to the allotment of spheres of influence in the mission field—"that we should go unto the Gentiles and they unto the circumcision". In the course of their conversations it was found that their views coincided with his on the principles and practice of the admission of Gentiles into the Church, and they parted with handshakes and on the best of terms. As a result of this complete understanding with the Three Pillars of the Church, as he calls them, he had secured himself against any future opponents of his missionary activity within the Churches founded by himself, and also against stay-at-home intriguers in the Mother Church at Jerusalem. The private agreement with the Three Apostles forearmed him precisely against that tampering with his own converts which Galatians reveals. If I may be pardoned the lapse into modern jargon, I would say that the Axis established between the Three Apostles and himself was proof against this insidious attempt to drive a wedge between them. Thus our hypothesis shows that the leaders of the Church in Jerusalem were in complete agreement with St. Paul on what we may term "the missionary policy" of the Church towards the Gentiles, and that this agreement was reached before St. Paul opened his great missionary campaign.

Secondly, it shows that St. Paul's rebuke of St. Peter (Gal. ii. 11-14) certainly happened before the Council of Jerusalem, and in all probability took place before St. Paul's second Jerusalem visit. The most likely time is during St. Peter's enforced absence from Jerusalem between Herod's persecution and the Famine Relief Visit, i.e. A.D. 42-46. (The rebuke appears last in the list of St. Paul's arguments for his independence of the other Apostles, not for any chronological reason, but because it is his trump card.)

Thirdly, it follows that the Council of Jerusalem then publicly promulgated what had already been privately recognized by the four Apostles, viz., the doctrine that the Gentiles

as well as the Jews were saved in virtue of Faith in Christ and not by the works of the Law of Moses (cf. Acts xi. 18 ; xv. 11). The four Decrees (Acts xv. 2, 29) were temporary measures issued for the benefit of the weaker brethren, the Christian Jews, in those areas where the controversy had formerly raged.

Fourthly, it rules out the theory of the North Galatianists (and of those South Galatianists who hold that the Epistle was written after the Council) that the Decisions of the Council (Acts xv. 11, 28-29), seemingly so explicit and definitive in themselves, were in fact sufficiently ambiguous to permit of a recrudescence of the same controversy, some four to six years later, in a form violent enough to inspire the Galatian Epistle. It follows that Galatians itself furnishes no grounds whatever for the theory that the Church was ever again troubled with a similar agitation.

One final word. I have deliberately tried to simplify the treatment of the whole problem and have consequently omitted many small points of exegesis which figure largely in the chief treatises on the Galatians Problem.¹ There is, however, no need to deal with these points since Kirsopp Lake (*op. cit.*) has shown that neither individually nor collectively are they decisive for the North or the South Galatian view. Hence no useful purpose would be served by rehearsing all the arguments again here. The root of the whole matter lies in the interpretation of the vital passage in Galatians. Once this has been rightly understood and set in its proper perspective the lesser problems

¹ For example, the precise meaning of τὸ πρότερον, in Gal. iv. 13. The passage runs thus : οἶδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον. Much has been made of this remark by the North Galatianists, who used to assert that τὸ πρότερον here has its ordinary classical meaning, viz., "on the former of two occasions". If this were true then it would follow that St. Paul had already preached the Gospel to the Galatians on two separate occasions and that the Epistle was written after the Second Journey. But unfortunately for this conclusion the recovery of thousands of Greek papyri has immensely increased our knowledge of the type of Greek spoken and written in the time of St. Paul, and Moulton and Milligan in their great dictionary say that in the time of St. Paul τὸ πρότερον had come to mean no more than "formerly", "at a former time". I conclude therefore that the meaning of this passage is to be determined by our view of the date of Galatians, and not vice versa.

either resolve themselves (like the question of the meaning of τὸ πρότερον) or are seen no longer to affect the main solution.¹

As to the problem of whether St. Paul ever preached among the North Galatians, it is now clear that Galatians itself has nothing to tell us about it, and the question can only be decided from the study of the XVIth and XVIIIth chapters of Acts.

These, then, are the elements of the Galatians Problem, and if this solution is deemed satisfactory it will have helped to clear the ground for the far more important task of interpreting St. Paul's message of Christian Freedom to the modern world.

APPENDIX.

The identification of the Conference Visit of Gal. ii. 1-2, 6-10, with the Famine Relief Visit of Acts xi. 27-30.

Since the solution proposed requires the identification of these two visits, it may be as well to deal with some of the objections often raised. Now that we no longer have to fit in the details furnished by Gal. ii. 3-5, the chief difficulty comes from the paucity of information given by Acts as compared with Galatians. The objections may be classed under the following heads: those arising from (1) the alleged different reasons assigned for the journey, (2) the omission of Titus's name in Acts, (3) the apparent absence of the Apostles at this time in Acts, (4) the lack of all reference to the Galatians Conference in Acts, (5) considerations of chronology.

As regards the first point, whilst Galatians says that the Second Visit was in obedience to a revelation, Acts merely states that Barnabas and Paul were commissioned by the brethren of Antioch to take their relief fund to Jerusalem. These statements are, however, not in the least incompatible. We may well suppose that Paul first had the private revelation (Ramsay's view that the revelation is identical with the prophecy of Agabus cannot, I believe, be sustained) and that since he had to go up to Jerusalem for this reason, the brethren of Antioch not unnaturally made use of his services for the famine relief. Whether or not this be the true explanation there is certainly no contradiction between the respective statements of Acts and Galatians.

The second point, the omission of Titus's name from St. Luke's account of the visit was a source of much difficulty to Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*,

¹ For example, the meaning of διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν, Gal. ii. 1. The problem here is now narrowed to the point that there were 'fourteen years' (whatever that may mean) between either St. Paul's first and second visits to Jerusalem or his conversion and his second visit. According to the latest research the Famine Relief Visit must be attributed to the winter of A.D. 45-46 or 46-47, cf. K. S. Gapp, *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 258-265; cf. also, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 5, pp. 452-455.

pp. 58-59, 390, 3rd ed.), but the difficulty altogether vanishes now we know that there was never any question of circumcising him. Apart from the fact that even in Galatians Titus is only a junior lieutenant of Paul, the whole objection is founded on the old misunderstanding of the passage, which we have already cleared up. St. Paul mentions Titus by name in Galatians solely because he was known to the Galatians as an uncircumcised Gentile Christian whose presence in his company in Jerusalem on a former visit had raised no adverse comment from the leaders of that Church. Why then ought St. Luke to have gone out of his way to drag his name into Acts?

In the third place, it is objected that if Peter, James and John had been in Jerusalem for the Famine Relief Visit of Acts we would have found the relief handed over to them instead of to 'the presbyters', as in fact we read. But it is a highly dangerous and usually misleading proceeding to base any inference on the silence of St. Luke, and this is a case in point. It may of course be true, as Lake thinks, that the 'presbyters' of Acts xi. 30 stand for the Apostles, but preferable is the opinion of Blunt who thinks that the context does not allow us to say for certain who they are. Indeed, if we collate all the references to Christian presbyters in Acts we shall find that in every case they form a distinct group (cf. xi. 30; xiv. 23; xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23; xvi. 4; xx. 7; xxi. 18) and that in all the references in chapters xv and xvi the presbyters are distinguished from the Apostles. What evidence there is, therefore, would seem to suggest that the presbyters to whom Paul and Barnabas delivered the famine relief were a body of men functioning separately from the Apostles. It is also to be noted that the relief was 'for the brethren dwelling in Judea', and not only for the poor of Jerusalem, so that distribution must have involved the employment of a good many presbyters. Nor does Gal. ii. 10 in any way imply that the Apostles had themselves handled the relief or ever had any intention of personally handling it. On the contrary, Galatians gives the impression that the Apostles held themselves aloof from practical ministrations of this sort. Hence the objection comes down to the assertion that Paul and Barnabas would not have delivered the relief to the presbyters if Peter, James and John had really been in residence at the time. This assertion is of course purely gratuitous, and the evidence of Acts, scanty as it is, would rather suggest the contrary. For right from the beginning it seems to have been the policy of the Twelve to refuse to burden themselves with the organization of the financial side of Church life. Consider their reply in connexion with the relief of the widows of the Greeks: "It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables". It is not unreasonable, therefore, to think that if the ordinary care of the needy was left to the deacons, the extraordinary provision of relief necessitated by the famine may have been entrusted by the Apostles to the college of presbyters. Thus the omission of the names of Peter, James and John in this connexion proves only that they had nothing to do with the reception of the famine relief,—and proves nothing more. It does not prove, nor even imply, their absence from Jerusalem at this juncture. Further, their presence there is quite compatible with what we can learn about their movements from other parts of Acts. James seems already to be permanently in residence there, Acts xii. 17. Peter may well have returned from 'the other place' soon after Herod's death in 44. At any rate he was again in residence some time before the Council of Jerusalem in 48-49. As regards

the movements of John, Acts tells us no more after viii. 25, though his name is mentioned in connexion with the martyrdom of his brother James in xii. 2. But his close association with Peter in Acts makes his presence by his side in the Galatians account of the Second Visit no matter of surprise. Since, however, he does not appear in the Acts account of the Council proceedings, it is generally assumed that he had by that time quitted Jerusalem for the mission field. (The notion that John was martyred along with his brother James by Herod in A.D. 42 is based on no solid evidence and needs no refutation here. Indeed, the early date which we assign to the Galatian Epistle is another argument for the falsity of the theory. A full discussion may be found in J. Armitage Robinson's *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, 1929, pp. 70-84, and also in *Introd. to St. John's Gospel* (Westminster Version, pp. xii-xv).

In the next place, there is the silence of Acts regarding this important conference between St. Paul and the Three Apostles. The purpose of this meeting was not to promote agreement between them but to forestall disagreement, which it most effectually did. That St. Paul and the other Apostles were in complete doctrinal and social harmony was not a fact St. Luke needed to underline. The reason why St. Luke omitted all the details of this Second Visit with which St. Paul furnishes us is surely because they are a piece of private history made public by him only on account of a particular crisis in the Galatian Churches. Seeing that he ends by affirming that the Three Apostles in fact 'added nothing' to him, and seeing that the question of circumcising Titus never arose, St. Luke, writing a brief summary of St. Paul's early career, may well be absolved for this omission.

Lastly, there is the supposed chronological difficulty. The best authorities (*Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. 5, Note xxxiv; Jacquier, *Actes des Apôtres*; Lattey, *Acts*, in loc.; and many others) are now fairly agreed that the Famine Relief Visit fell in the winter of A.D. 46-47. Now St. Paul says that his second visit to Jerusalem was made 'after fourteen years'. This may mean either fourteen years after his previous visit or fourteen years after his conversion, and the context alone can determine which is right. If we identify the visits we are able to adopt the second meaning only. Thus St. Paul would have visited Jerusalem three years after his conversion and again fourteen years after it. In this way his conversion would have taken place in 32-33, a likely date. But for those who, with Fotheringham, hold that 33 is the only possible year for the Crucifixion, our identification of the visits still holds good if (a) we take 'fourteen years' in the Hebrew fashion as some fraction more than twelve years, (b) we place St. Paul's conversion in 34, since it is quite possible, as Manson urges ("St. Paul in Ephesus", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 24, No. 1, April, 1940, p. 63), that barely a year or even less elapsed between the Crucifixion and his conversion.

SAMUEL AND SAUL.¹

By EDWARD ROBERTSON, D.LITT., D.D.,
PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

WITH the beginning of the first book of Samuel we seem to be emerging from the shadows of an uncertain and vague period in the history of Israel into one of greater certainty and clarity. Immediately behind us lie "the days when the Judges judged" with the reiterated suggestion of lawlessness. The picture we get in the book of Judges of the period we are just leaving is one of religious instability on the part of the Israelites, of a recurring cycle of apostasy, affliction, penitence, deliverance. The afflictions come from warring neighbours and deliverance comes from God through heroic military leaders whom he raised up for the occasion—the call to service coming to them in a variety of ways. The book closes with the words, "in those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes". This comment shows what was in the mind of the compiler of the book. He feels that now he has reached a turning-point in the history of Israel. In condemning the lawlessness he is giving a backward glance at the period he has just left, but in contrasting it with the reign of law and order under a king he is looking ahead to the establishment of the monarchy.

That the books of Judges and Samuel stand in close association is evident. Eli and Samuel are both described as judging Israel. The prophet Samuel is as much the last of the judges as he is the first king-maker. He is an intermediate figure between the unstable rule of the judges and the settled rule of the king. In his abdication speech at the time of Saul's accession, he is represented as including himself amongst the judges. "And the Lord sent Jerubbaal and Bedan and Jephthah and Samuel, and delivered you out of the hand of your enemies on every side and ye dwelled in safety." (1 Sam. 12: 11.)

¹ The Tyndale Old Testament Lecture for 1943.

From the early days of critical inquiry into the text of the Old Testament it has been recognised that the book of Samuel is a compilation of literary fragments rather than the original contribution of a single writer. Attention has repeatedly been drawn to the fact that in this literary complex there are several duplications and inconsistencies. It has also been maintained that the book gives evidence of conflicting tendencies and diversified outlook amongst the writers of those narrative strands of which it is composed. There are marked variations in literary style and observable difference in political theory. As the years have passed the air of misgiving and doubt engendered round the book has tended to concentrate on what are generally regarded as the two major discrepancies, a dual presentation of the character and status of Samuel, and a dual presentation of the origin of the monarchy.

The confused results accruing from critical analysis were early apparent, and particularly so in respect of Samuel. Wellhausen remarks: "But what sort of an idea can we form of the position of Samuel? As he appears in these chapters we entirely fail to dispose of him in any of the characters applicable to the subject: he is not a judge, not a priest, not a prophet—if at least we use these words with their true historical meaning. He is a second Moses? Yes, but that does not tell us much. So much only is clear that the theocracy is arranged on quite a different footing from the kingdoms of this world, and that it amounts to the falling away into heathenism when the Israelites place a king at their head like other nations."¹

The belief that there are two different portraits of Samuel in the early traditions has grown with the years and ripened into conviction, until now it has become a commonplace in all modern commentaries on the book of Samuel and all Old Testament Introductions. The position is well expressed by H. P. Smith in his commentary on Samuel: "In one place Samuel appears as the theocratic ruler of the people, comparable to Moses and to Moses alone among the heroes of Israel. He administers the government as the representative of Yahweh. The whole people gather at his call, and he rebukes and commands with

¹ *Prolegomena*. E.T., Edinburgh, 1885, p. 255.

more than kingly authority. In another place he is the seer of a small town, respected as one who blesses the sacrifice and presides at the local festival, but known only as a clairvoyant whose information concerning lost or strayed property is reliable."¹

And so too with regard to the institution of the monarchy—to quote again from Smith: "In one account it is claimed Saul is chosen as king by God, is welcomed by Samuel, is assured that God is with him and encouraged to act as he finds opportunity. His election by God is an act of grace: for God has looked upon the afflictions of his people, and now promises that Saul shall deliver them from the hand of the Philistines. But in other sections of the narration, the desire of the people for a king is an act of rebellion against Yahweh. Their act is an act of apostasy parallel to all the rebellions of earlier times."² That all this has affected adversely, in the eyes of the critics, the credibility of the tradition, and even the authenticity of Samuel, is obvious.

That the book of Samuel, and particularly those chapters which concern our thesis (chapters i-xv (xvi)), is a compilation of literary fragments, cannot be denied by anyone who examines carefully the Hebrew text. That, indeed, is matter for congratulation. Before history can be written with proper appreciation of events and movements, some considerable interval of time must elapse. It is thus a happening for which we can be profoundly grateful, that, when the history came to be written, the compiler (or it may even be compilers) should have decided to let the early traditions speak for themselves, rather than furnish us with his own interpretation of events. And it should be noted that there has always been a strong body of opinion amongst Old Testament scholars that the major part of the records and traditions, which are here incorporated, appear to date from the early days of the monarchy. On this showing, then, we would seem to have direct access to early records, and the only safe deduction we can make is, that from their compilation we may be expected to gain an insight into the view of the period of Samuel and Saul and of the relations existing between them held by

¹ *International Critical Commentary*, Edinburgh, 1912, p. xvi.

² *L.c.*, p. xvi.

the compiler. To the question of the arrangement of the material and its significance for the understanding of the whole problem we shall return again.

Meantime we may be allowed to draw attention briefly to the attempts which have been made to achieve results by literary criticism. Whilst it may be said that a close consideration of the literary fragments which make up the book is rather disposed to stress their diversity, still there seems to be general agreement amongst investigators that the fragments, which appear to be in disorder, can be integrated to form at least two main strands. Some scholars maintain that there are three. Others add one or two more. The division into two main narrative strands dates from the first half of last century from the days of Eichhorn¹ and Thenius, and has since then found supporters in Ewald, Löhr, Wellhausen, Budde, Cornill, Nowack, Kittel, Sellin, and many more. The suggestion that these two strands should somehow link up with the J and E strands in the Pentateuch was almost inevitable, and the first serious attempt to establish a connection was made by Karl Budde, and was supported by Cornill. The narrative threads of the book of Samuel were not regarded as a direct continuation of the J and E narratives, rather were they regarded as of similar character and, in a manner of speaking, their extension by later hands. But, however much scholars might agree to link up the main Samuel strands with J and E, there has been marked disagreement as to the parts in the book of Samuel to be assigned to each source. Other scholars, such as Smend and Eissfeldt, extended their three source theories of the J and E material to cover also the book of Samuel, although Eissfeldt, instead of the *sigla* J, E, L which he favours for the Hexateuch, prefers to indicate his Samuel strands by the Roman numerals I, II, III. But, as Weiser has recently pointed out, the activity of the writer responsible for the book of Samuel has been confined more or less to a mechanical assembling, a mere collocation, of older traditions which in no way reproduce the recognised features of J and E. We look in vain, he maintains, for any pervasive ideological order, and particularly so the part

¹ For details of the literature referred to in this part of the lecture, see the bibliography added at the end.

said to be associated with J. Weiser, himself, divides the material into four basic independent literary units. Combined with this he, like so many others of the modern school of criticism, detects a working over of the traditions in accord with the prophetic representation of history—a controlling factor which existed along with, and operated upon, the popular and court traditions which form the substance of the book. Tense analysis has also revealed for some the work of more than one redactor. The failure of all attempts to understand the Samuel-Saul story as a chronological presentation of events has led to a search for other explanations. Thus W. Caspari (1926) wishes to solve the problem of dating by an appeal to a style-sequence. He postulates periods in the art of narration which follow each other but whose limits cannot be rigidly defined chronologically. But it is on this point that the scheme tends to break down, since there is no certainty that the stylistic features of one period cannot be reproduced in later periods. Hylander (1932) would divide the material into four sources, special traditions, a Yahwistic composition, an Elohistic overworking of traditions in two stages, and finally a priestly (Jerusalem-Zadokite) codification of traditions. Others, like J. Schäfer (1907) and A. Schultz (1923), wish to link up the two main strands with Mizpah and Gilgal which they denote by M and G, and M and Gi, respectively. As with most others, they believe that the early traditions are now embedded in Deuteronomic overworkings and the results of numerous protracted redactions. Wellhausen well expresses the impression left on our minds of the book of Samuel as we survey the results of so much critical investigation, when he says: "The whole area of tradition has finally been uniformly covered with an alluvial deposit by which the configuration of the surface has been determined".¹

Now what definite results can be expected from all this intensive criticism? Where is it likely to lead us? Can we hope for anything definite or satisfying? Even if we can succeed in integrating the material into two, three, four or more narrative strands or sources, does its accomplishment solve anything? We know that the compiler has made use of material drawn from

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 228.

a number of sources, but we do not know whether he has made use of the *whole* of each source. If not, how much has he left out, and might not that abandoned material, had it been introduced, have thrown an entirely new light on the whole subject? That possibility must overshadow any results obtained, and fill us with apprehension. Would it not be wiser to try to discover what the compiler had in mind when he arranged his material as he has done, and what picture of the period and of the relations existing between Samuel and Saul he wished to present? And after all there is every likelihood that the view he presents, whatever the method of compilation, will be the traditional one.

But before we turn to this, let us look more closely at the two main deductions of literary criticism which have controlled in the past and continue to control, the attitude of scholars to the book of Samuel, viz. Samuel as a local seer in one of the main strands, and the conflicting accounts of the institution of the monarchy. In respect of the first, we may well ask ourselves: how could the traditions hold two such contradictory conceptions of a great national figure like Samuel, represented elsewhere in the Old Testament as on the same plane as Moses and Aaron?¹ In the one case he is the great prophet, priest and judge of all-Israel, and in the other he is the insignificant figure unknown outside his own locality, but in his obscurity performing a great national service by anointing a future king, since in the opinion of this humble man only a king could save Israel. The justification for this view, we are reminded, is found in the narrative of Samuel's first meeting with Saul. It becomes necessary for us, then, to review this narrative and ascertain whether it bears out the critics' contention. But, before embarking on this, we must make a necessary digression if we would understand aright the story of that meeting.

In the opening verse of the book of Samuel we are told that the home of Elkanah, the father of Samuel, was at Ramathaim-Šōphim. The word Ramathaim in Hebrew means 'the two Ramahs', and Šōphim is the plural of a participial form meaning 'gazing'. Rabbinic interpretation is that the two

¹ Cf. Ps. 99:6; Jer. 15:1.

Ramahs were in sight of each other. It has, however, been recognised by some scholars that the reading here should be Šūphim (i.e. the Šuphites), and for this they claim the support of manuscripts of the Septuagint.¹ Now in the genealogy which is also found in this verse, Elkanah's (and consequently Samuel's) descent is traced from a certain ancestor named Šūph. Perhaps the original form of our place-name may have been Ramath-Šūph (Ramah of Šūph), it being the custom of that age to denote townships after the leading family of the district. Thus we have Gibeah of Saul, and Ophrah of the Abiezrites. It seems evident that Elkanah was a man of good family whose ancestral home was at Ramah, and the district in which Ramah (or the two Ramahs) was situated would be known as the land or territory of Šūph. When Samuel was driven from Shiloh, presumably on its destruction by the Philistines following the victory over Eli, he returned to his father's house, and no doubt succeeded eventually to his father's property (or part of it at least) at Ramah. The township became his home and his headquarters. There at his house, called Naioth (meadows), he harboured and protected David when Saul sought his life, and there he died and was buried. This identification of the Ramah of Šūph as the home of Samuel is important, as we shall see.

You remember the vivid narrative of the first meeting of Samuel and Saul as given in the ninth and tenth chapters of the first book. A number of she-asses belonging to Kish, a Benjamite, and a man of military prowess, have strayed from his estate. He sends his son Saul, a stripling, accompanied by a servant, to recover them. The two, presumably following up the results of their inquiries, journey from district to district and place to place on a devious trail. They pass through the hill country of Ephraim, the land of Shalishah, the land of Shaalim without finding them. And finally they come to the land of Šūph. By this time they have come to realise that their pursuit is fruitless and that they themselves are lost, and had better think of returning home. Before them is a city, which is not named, and which clearly they do not recognise. The servant informs his master,

¹ Cf. also J. Marquart: *Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte*, Göttingen, 1896, pp. 12 ff.

no doubt from his contact with the country-folk of the neighbourhood, that there is in the town a man of God, a man held in honour, and all that he saith cometh surely to pass. He suggests that the man of God be consulted concerning their journey, and the question of a suitable gift to the seer is discussed between them. As they approach the city they encounter maidens going out to draw water who loquaciously tell them about the man of God and his movements. They proceed on their way, and meet Samuel, who tells them he is the seer they are inquiring for, and that he has been expecting them. Saul is given the place of honour at the feast, and is anointed in secrecy by Samuel.

To understand the narrative aright we must appreciate its nature and purpose. A military leader is to be chosen by the Lord to deliver his people. That he is to be anointed in secret shows that the time was not yet ripe for bringing him into the open, and that some time must elapse—perhaps very many years, as in the case of David—before he will be called upon to act. The writer wishes to make it clear that neither Samuel nor the people had any part in the selection of Saul. Hence he stresses the point that Saul came to his meeting with Samuel by a devious route where the chances against their ever coming together seem multiplied at every twist and turn of Saul's wandering in pursuit of the asses. But unseen and unrealised by man, the hand of God was so shaping the course of events that Samuel and Saul were destined to meet.

We are carefully informed in the narrative that even the great Samuel did not know of the existence of Saul until the day before their encounter. For the narrator to have told us that Saul and his servant had come to Ramah would have spoiled all, for then it would have been expected that Saul had heard of Samuel and knew of his importance. If the country folk who gave the information to the servant had used the word נָבִיא, *nabhī*, since Samuel was known throughout Israel as a prophet of the Lord, it would have furnished the clue. But they used the word רֹאֶה—*rō'eh*—the old word for prophet as the narrator takes care to explain. In this way Samuel's identity was concealed. The question of any collusion between Samuel and Saul is thus ruled out. It is the reader only who is let into the secret. He can

see God's hand working. When Saul and the servant reach the land of Šūph, the reader knows that they are in the neighbourhood of Ramah, and when the township appears before them he knows it is Ramah. But Saul and his servant, bewildered by their wanderings, do not. The loquacity of the maidens helps to reveal the greatness of this 'seer', and Samuel's banquet and lordly entertaining emphasise it.

To make it perfectly clear that Saul had realised that it was the great Samuel he had come to, when expecting to consult only a local seer, a paragraph is added recording a conversation between Saul and his uncle (presumably Ner), who is only introduced here for the purposes of the conversation. Saul tells his uncle simply that he had come to Samuel. He does not need to describe him. His uncle is at once all agog with excitement and expectation. "Tell me, what did Samuel say to you?" And Saul reveals only as much of the matter as he dared. He could tell nothing of the anointing, thus emphasising the secrecy with which that happening was cloaked.

There would appear, then, to be nothing in the narrative which makes Samuel merely a local seer. He is the great national figure, often away from home, as indicated by the maidens, on his journeys through the land as judge, and when at home he entertains royally with a great table of guests. When the purpose of the narrator is realised, and the significance of the details considered, the greatness of Samuel is not diminished but enhanced.

In respect of the second deduction, widely current, that there is a twofold presentation of the institution of the kingship, it appears to us to rest on a basis equally insecure. In the passage where Samuel is instructed to anoint Saul, he is bidden to anoint him as *nagīd* (leader), not as *melekh* (king) to the end that he might 'exercise restraint over' (יעצר), not 'rule over' (ימלך), the people (9:16, 17). The Hebrew word *nagīd* has a wider application than king. A king may be a *nagīd*, but it is not every *nagīd* who is a king. It seems not improbable, then, that what Samuel had in mind when he anointed Saul was a military leader, a משיח מלחמה,¹ and that the leader would occupy the

¹ P. R. Weis has obliged me with the following note: "The משיח מלחמה appears indeed in Talmudic literature to have been the military commander

same position relative to him as, e.g. Barak to Deborah. A point to remember about the post of *nagid* is that it would not necessarily be hereditary: the kingship on the other hand was.¹ That the Lord was accustomed to plan and prepare the ground a long time ahead of the fruition of his plans was a conception which found expression in the traditions of that age. Thus David, we read, was anointed by Samuel when he was a mere youth (וְעַר, 1 Sam. 17 : 33) : and it was very many years later before he became king of all Israel. It is of interest to note—even if it may in fact have little significance, although Rabbinic commentators have noted it and drawn deductions from it—that Saul was anointed by Samuel from a vial (פֶּיֶה), whilst David was anointed from a horn (קֶרֶן). In each case there was great secrecy, indicating that the culmination of the event for which this was a preparation, lay some distance ahead. The time was not yet. After he had anointed Saul, Samuel instructs him to proceed to Gilgal. (The identification of this Gilgal with a spot in or near Shechem is the one most likely.) He is to go thither alone, and Samuel will follow later. There Saul is to wait for seven days till Samuel comes to offer burnt offerings and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings. Seven days appears to have been the customary period of purification in consecration ceremonies. Frequent reference is made in the Talmud to the “seven days of consecration”, referring primarily to the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8 : 35). Moses was consecrated by being seven days in the cloud (Ex. 24 : 16).² The High Priest was separated seven days before entering the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement.³ Similarly, before burning the Red Heifer, the officiating priest had to be separated seven days.⁴ Saul’s visit to Gilgal on this occasion may well have been

(cf. R. Asher to Horayoth 13a). This would also remove the difficulty that, while Deuteronomy makes no mention of anointing, the Rabbis speak invariably of משיח מלחמה. The military commander was anointed, as seen in the case of Saul. We would thus have an identification of the Talmudic משיח מלחמה with the Biblical נגיד. This may find support in Pal. Tal. Horayoth, III, 3 (ed. Venice, fol. 47a) which remarks to 1 Chr. 9 : 20 : ‘And Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, was the ruler (נָגִיד) over them’, that Phinehas was a משיח מלחמה.

¹ Cf. Deut. 17 : 20.

² Aboth de R. Nathan, I. 1 ; Yoma, 4a.

³ Yoma, I. 1.

⁴ Parah, III. 1.

for a consecration ceremony. The fact that he and Samuel did not proceed there together stresses the secrecy of the whole procedure. Saul is alone in Gilgal for the seven days of separation. At Gilgal Samuel asserts for himself the rôle assigned by Moses to Eleazar, the chief priest, in his official relations with Joshua. But Samuel does more. He assumes towards Saul the position and attitude of Moses towards Joshua. Samuel, like Eleazar, is to be God's mouthpiece in telling the military leader what to do, but, more than that, he will not allow Saul to forget that it was he who anointed him and was the chief instrument in his elevation.

This elevation comes to Saul much later in life, just as it did to David. After his ecstatic experience in the company of the band of prophets and his consecration at Gilgal, Saul evidently returns home to await the call to do as occasion served, or in the Hebrew idiom "to do what his hand shall find". This expression in itself indicates that Saul was not called to leadership under pressure of an immediate national danger. And it was some time later—no doubt some considerable time—before the brutal threat with which Nahash the Ammonite terrorised the men of Jabesh Gilead, stirred Saul to action. Meantime the popular desire for a king remained latent in the nation in a strong undercurrent of feeling which had at times in the past found expression. Thus Gideon, when he had saved Israel, was invited to become king, and Jephthah was clearly aware of this monarchical trend when he laid down the conditions on which he would lead the army. Samuel, hard pressed, eventually yields to the request of the representatives of the people, who urged on him the necessity for a king to rule over them, when they met him at Mizpah. Agreement was reached that a king should be appointed. The choice was made by sacred lot, and, naturally, the one whom the Lord had designated years before as military leader (*nagîd*) was chosen. Here, too, the narrator is at pains to remind the reader that there was no collusion. Saul was not present when the lot was drawn (did he suspect that the lot would fall upon him?). His reluctance to show himself was proof, too, that he himself was not plotting to secure the kingship. Saul's selection was acclaimed by many but he was refused recognition

by others. His success over Nahash filled the people with enthusiasm and they not only fêted him but urged the death penalty for his opponents. At Saul's intervention (the Septuagint text say Samuel's) they escape with their lives. Whether the movement for a king came to a head before or after Saul's expedition against Nahash we are left in some doubt. According to the narrative describing the selection by lot, it would seem as if it was before. But in Samuel's abdication speech, it seems to come as a consequence of Saul's victory. But that is a minor point. Looking at the narratives dealing with the institution of the monarchy, there appears to be no justification for the view that there are two distinct and discrepant accounts. The first was merely a stage in the process which reached its culmination in the second.

So many of the books of the Old Testament, legal, historical, and prophetic, are compilations of earlier materials gathered from many sources, that a consideration of the methods of arrangement becomes a matter of prime importance. The materials themselves were mainly undated, consisting as they did of traditions, literary extracts, etc. In all historical writings, such as the book we are considering, we naturally look for a scheme of arrangement based on chronology, where such could be established, either by direct evidence or by inference. The genealogical list, which is much favoured by Semitic peoples—as you may know, a good lineage was much prized amongst the Arabs—forms the basis of much of Old Testament history. By genealogical lists we mean such lists as you find in the book of Genesis or the opening chapters of the book of Chronicles. These lists, providing as they did a chronological sequence, were expanded at various points by attaching to the names of individuals all available records and traditions associated with them. In some cases, such as those of the patriarchs, Moses, David and many others, the expansions were extensive; in others you find merely a short note, or even nothing at all.

Another principle of arrangement, and an obvious one, was the grouping according to subject-matter. Thus we have the series of oracles (משאות) in Isaiah, chapters 13-23. A third principle is a collection based on the opening word or phrase,

as in the collections in Isaiah, beginning with הָרִי ¹ or with בְּיוֹם הַהוּא .² This method of arrangement resolves itself, for the most part, into a mechanical grouping of generally unrelated elements. A fourth principle of arrangement much less obvious, but one which is much used in the Old Testament and later on in the Talmud, is the catchword. For instance, a passage which makes a casual reference, shall we say, to Assyria,³ will be followed by another with no other connection with the first than that it introduces, in some fashion or other, the name Assyria, which serves as the catchword. There are other factors, too, which determine arrangement, but into these we need not enter. We should, however, bear the foregoing principles in mind when we come to consider the arrangement of the materials of those chapters of the first book of Samuel with which we are concerned.

Where records are based ultimately on genealogical or other lists, it is natural in progressing from name to name to find that the resultant text is constituted in sections. This is well seen in the book of Judges and in the book of Kings. History on this basis becomes, not the review of a period but a series of more or less isolated historical incidents associated with a central figure, usually hero or king. A feature of this sectionalising is that after the main incidents have had their allotted treatment, there are added one or more independent, and generally short, jottings or paragraphs, often of a biographical character. In the book of Judges the section concludes with crystallisations such as :

The land had rest forty years, and Othniel, the son of Kenaz, died (Jud. 3 : 11).

Or they may be of a summary character, such as :

And Jerubbaal, the son of Joash, went and dwelt in his own house. And Gideon had three score and ten sons of his body begotten, for he had many wives. And Gideon, the son of Joash, died in a good old age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joash, his father, in Ophrah of the Abiezrites (8 : 29-32).

¹ Cf., e.g., Is. 5 : 8 ff. for a series of 'Woes'.

² Cf. the 'In that day' passages in Is. 7 : 18 ff.

³ Assyria in Is. 7 : 17 appears to be the catchword for the next two paragraphs, vv. 18, 19 and v. 20, which seem to have no other direct connection.

Or to take an example from the book of Kings :

Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam and all that he did are they not written in the books of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah? And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually. And Rehoboam slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers in the city of David : and his mother's name was Naamah, the Ammonitess. And Abijam, his son, reigned in his stead (1 Ki. 14 : 29-31).

The foregoing are specimens of the brief, summary notes or jottings—the additional scraps of information—which for convenience we will call the *supplementa*,¹ which mark the conclusion of the sections into which the historiographers of the period divided up their text. Their character is unmistakable. They indicate the ending of the section as manifestly as the formal courtesies mark the end of a letter.

The thesis which we would submit is that the compiler of the book of Samuel, in the chapters with which we are concerned, has sectionalised his material in the same way, carrying on a process so clearly exemplified in the historical books which precede and follow. But here the process is not so simple and the results are not so apparent, because he is dealing with two protagonists, Samuel and Saul, whose lives are interlocked. Yet in spite of this greater complication he has succeeded in carrying out the sectionalising process, as becomes evident when we examine the Hebrew text and look for the appearance of the *supplementa*. On this basis our field of operations (i.e. chapters 1-15) has been divided into six sections. The endings of these sections in general coincide with chapter endings, but in two cases they seem to extend into the opening verse or verses of a new chapter. It should be added that the *supplementa* are separated almost invariably from the main text and form either *pethūḥah* or *sethūmah* sections in the Masoretic text. These so-called 'open' or 'closed' sections, we may explain, are separated from the preceding text by a blank space or interval, the equivalent of three trilateral words, and while the *pethūḥah* section begins with a new full line, the *sethūmah* begins with an indented line. In the case also of the *pethūḥah*, if the preceding text completes the line before it, a full line is left vacant. Although

¹ *Supplementa* expresses better their function than *addenda*.

the reason for these sections has yet to be determined, they clearly indicate paragraphs of greater or less importance. In many manuscripts, and regularly in the printed text, instead of leaving the full interval, a small interval is left in the midst of which the letter D (*pe*) or D (*samekh*) is printed to indicate the appropriate section.¹ So far as the *supplementa* are concerned, the paragraphs so distinguished appear to be independent pieces of information with no intimate connection with the preceding text and would seem to be drawn from other sources. Incidentally we may have in this a clue to the meaning and purpose of these 'open' and 'closed' sections.

We can now turn to the delimitation and examination of the sections.

Section I. This section begins with the first verse of the first chapter, and continues to the end of the third chapter. We omit all reference to the poetical passage, Hannah's Prayer (2 : 1-10), which would require special consideration. The first indication that the end of the section is at hand is given in 3 : 19-21, a passage which is separated from the preceding text by a *sethūmah* interval,² and is as follows :

And Samuel grew, and the Lord was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord [*sethūmah* interval]. And the Lord appeared again in Shiloh : for the Lord revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the Lord.

It might be thought that the next sentence (4 : 1*a*),

And the word of Samuel came to all Israel,

might be included also. There is, indeed, a small gap in the text after this sentence, but as the Septuagint text has an addition here it is safer not to press the point. When you reach the little group of *supplementa* we have just indicated, you are conscious that you have, indeed, arrived at the end of the section. The section is concerned with the parentage and childhood of Samuel,

¹ The use of these letters of the alphabet to indicate sections was not found in synagogue scrolls. It was the practice of a later age in codices and printed texts.

² There is some slight disagreement in authoritative MSS. as to whether particular sections are *pethūhah* or *sethūmah*. Such disagreement does not affect the sections which come particularly under our notice. I have followed the divisions as given in Kittel's text.

and how it came about that he was dedicated to the Lord and was attached to the Shiloh temple. It shows, also, how, having been asked of the Lord, his birth was of the nature of a miracle and how the Lord favoured him from the first. It deals also with the position of Eli as chief priest of the Shiloh temple as well as judge of Israel. The reason given for the Lord's rejection of his house was the iniquity of his sons for which Eli has to share the consequences since he did not restrain them. The future exaltation of Samuel is foreshadowed, in that the Lord through him once more established contact with his people, reappearing in Shiloh.

Section II. The second section may begin at 4:1a or at 4:1b for reasons we have just given. In this section we reach the *supplementa* in the second verse of the seventh chapter, which reads :

And it came to pass from the day that the ark abode in Kirjath Jearim that the time was long : for it was twenty years : and all the house of Israel lamented after the Lord.

There are *sethūmah* intervals before and after this verse. The section deals with the use of the Ark of the Covenant in warfare. Its use as palladium in battle fails, since God's presence was no longer in the ark itself. Its capture, its vicissitudes in captivity, its eventual restoration to Israel and settlement at Kirjath Jearim are described.

Section III. The *supplementa* of the third section, which begins at 7:3 are found towards the end of this chapter. They begin at verse 13 and continue to verse 17 :

So the Philistines were subdued and they came no more within the border of Israel : and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel. And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel from Ekron even unto Gath : and the border thereof, did Israel deliver out of the hand of the Philistines. And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites. And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. And he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Mizpah ; and he judged Israel in all those places. And his return was to Ramah for there was his house : and he built there an altar unto the Lord.

This is a long conclusion full of supplemental material but maintaining a certain consistency. In the Hebrew text it is kept unbroken by either *sethūmah* or *pethūhah* intervals, indicating

evidently that it was part and parcel of the text which precedes it and that it formed the original conclusion to the record of which it formed part. There is, however, a *sethūmah* interval at its close, separating it from what follows. Both the theme and the character of the section are indicated in the opening paragraph (7 : 3-4) which also is isolated by *sethūmah* intervals :

And Samuel spake unto all the house of Israel saying, if ye do return unto the Lord with all your heart, then put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from among you and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only, and he will deliver you out of the hand of the Philistines. Then the children of Israel did put away the Baalim and the Ashtaroth and served the Lord only.

In this section we are to be given the story of Samuel as Israel's military leader. He is a leader in touch with God, he is indeed God's prophet, and it is by the direct help of God, which he is in the position to ask for, that he will win victories. Samuel is a prophet and his leadership is on the prophetic plane. But the people also must be sanctified; only as a purified and believing people can they hope to be delivered from their enemies by direct divine aid. Samuel, we are now told, holds a purification ceremony of a unique character, in which water is poured out before the Lord. The people are now ready for the Philistine attack. The Lord intervenes, thunders against the Philistines, and a great victory ensues. The Philistines come no more within Israel's border, and the hand of the Lord was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel. The statement that Samuel built an altar unto the Lord at Ramah, stresses his position, perhaps, as priest.

Samuel as military leader, unlike Eli, is highly successful. Through him the theocratic system of government is shown operating at its fullest and best. On this showing it has not failed the people, nor is there any sign that it was ever likely to fail, so long as Samuel was at the head of affairs. There could, in consequence, be no excuse for any change of leadership. All is proceeding smoothly and successfully. How long Samuel led Israel in this way we are not told, but the expressions used in the *supplementa*, 'all the days of his life', 'all the days of Samuel' would seem to indicate no short period.

Section IV. The fourth section, which deals with Saul's accession as king, is one of particular importance. It appears to be a combination of two subsections, (a) 8 : 1 to 10 : 27, and (b) 11 : 1 to 12 : 25. The whole section, which is longer than the others, closes appropriately with Samuel's abdication speech. The whole of Chapter 12, of which the speech occupies the major part, is separated from what precedes by a *sethūmah* interval, and from what follows by a *pethūḥah* interval. In the case of the two subsections the close of the first is marked by the *supplementa* in 10 : 25-27, a portion of text which is isolated by a *sethūmah* interval before and a *pethūḥah* interval behind. It reads as follows :

Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book and laid it up before the Lord. And Samuel sent all the people away, every man to his house. And Saul also went to his house to Gibeah ; and there went with him the host, whose hearts God had touched. But certain sons of Belial said, How shall this man save us ? And they despised him and brought him no present. But he held his peace.

The last words in themselves suggest that that is not the end of the matter, and that there will be a sequel.

The second subdivision begins at 11 : 1, and continues to the end of the chapter where we find *supplementa* appearing in verses 14 and 15 :

Then said Samuel to the people, come and let us go to Gilgal and renew the kingdom there. And all the people went to Gilgal ; and there they made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal ; and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the Lord ; and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly.

If we regard this small section, which is isolated before and behind by *sethūmah* intervals, as the conclusion to the second subsection, then we may take Chapter 12 with the abdication speech of Samuel as the appropriate conclusion to the whole section. Alternatively, it might be regarded as forming by itself an additional section.

Returning to a consideration of the section as a whole, the opening paragraphs serve to indicate that the problem of the kingship is now coming up for discussion ; in it is, moreover, involved the problem of the succession to Samuel's office, and the feelings of the people on that point :

And it came to pass, when Samuel was old that he made his sons judges over Israel. Now the name of his firstborn was Joel; and the name of his second Abijah: they were judges in Beersheba. And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes and perverted judgment. Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah; and they said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations. But the thing displeased Samuel when they said: Give us a king to judge us (8: 1-6).

Like Eli, Samuel was a chief priest, and his office was hereditary. Samuel's sons were clearly unacceptable to the people for reasons given. The conference of elders was insistent in its demand for a king, and refused to be put off by threats or warnings. Their demand involved the separation of the civil from the religious leadership. For the latter they wanted a warrior, a king "who would judge them and go out before them and fight their battles". Samuel had planned things otherwise, and is naturally displeased, but finally he is instructed by the Lord to accede to their request. The fact that this incident took place when Samuel was old need not disturb us. The reason for the paragraph being where it is at the head of the section instead of its being at its end, is that it serves as a most useful introduction to a section dealing with the institution of the kingship. The stages by which that end was realised now follow it, although in fact they were chronologically earlier. The first stage is the first meeting of Samuel and Saul—a meeting pre-arranged by the Lord and by no one else—and the anointing of Saul for a future greatness, followed by the consecration at Gilgal. At this point he is only a *nagîd* appointed to exercise restraint over Israel, not a king to reign. The kingship comes much later in time, although it follows here immediately on the first stage, and is preceded by an election by lot, where it is again made clear that the choice is due solely to God. The constitution of the new kingdom is laid down by Samuel and laid up before the Lord, as was the practice with new law codes. This first subsection closes with the *supplementa*.

In the second subsection we find recorded the event for which the *nagîd* had been suitably prepared. The attack by Nahash the Ammonite roused Saul to action. The fact that the

messengers from Jabesh Gilead came to Gibeah reminds us that maidens of Jabesh Gilead had in time past been seized as wives by the men of Benjamin (Jud. 21 : 8 ff.), and it was perhaps natural that when Jabesh Gilead was in dire straits an appeal should go forth to their kinsfolk in Benjamin. When the messengers do come to Gibeah, it is now Gibeah of Saul, and they come not to Kish, but to Saul, who is now apparently master of his father's estate, and follows his oxen from the field. Whether Saul's selection by lot as king preceded his victory over Nahash, or whether it was a consequence of that victory is left uncertain in the narrations, as we have already indicated. Samuel's abdication speech, which modern criticism is disposed to regard as Deuteronomic, is an interesting study with its strong undercurrent of disapproval of the people's action, but perfectly in keeping with Samuel's whole attitude throughout the controversy. Its concluding note with its cold threat and acid contempt is withering. "But if ye do wickedly ye shall be consumed both you and your king." Yet one point in the abdication speech should be noted. When Samuel says, "As for me God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you", he is not adopting merely a sportsmanlike attitude. Samuel, while recognising that the civil leadership has finally passed from his unwilling hands, is here represented as re-asserting his right and privilege as prophet and chief priest to represent the people before the Lord. To yield up that privilege would be, he maintains, a sin against the Lord. It is a warning addressed both to the people and to Saul.

Section V. The fifth section begins with Chapter 13, and continues to the end of Chapter 14. Here the *supplementa* begin at verse 47, or it may even be, following a *sethūmah* interval, at verse 46 :

And Saul went up from following the Philistines : and the Philistines went to their own place. Now when Saul had taken the kingdom over Israel he fought against his enemies on every side, against Moab and against the children of Ammon, against Edom and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines, and whithersoever he turned himself he vexed them. And he did valiantly and smote the Amalekites and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them.

Here there is a *sethūmah* interval. Then follow three verses listing the names of the family of Saul, the captain of his host, etc. This is followed also by a *sethūmah* interval. And then finally come the words :

And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul : and when Saul saw any mighty man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him.

This again is followed by a *sethūmah* interval. The theme of the fifth section is Saul as king with Samuel as chief priest. At Saul's side is his son Jonathan, already a warrior of renown. The section opens, like the others, with a paragraph which indicates the topic to be discussed in the section. In this case it is a reference to the time when Saul became king, and the length of his reign. But the Hebrew text is startling. It says that Saul was a *ben shanah*, 'son of a year', i.e. one year old, when he began to reign, and he reigned for two years over Israel. The usual explanation offered is that a number has fallen out between *ben* and *shanah*, and on the strength of two Greek manuscripts the number 30 has been introduced.¹ But a Saul of 30 years is not old enough to have had a son Jonathan, a warrior of experience, at his side. It requires an age of nearly 50 years to satisfy the conditions. We suggest that the information here given may have been taken from a tabular list, where the numbers were represented by letters of the alphabet. As such the *bēth nūn* stands for 52. What may have stood in the original record may have been *בן בן שנה*, 'a son of 52 years', in other words, 52 years old. The dropping of one *בן* would be due to haplography. The fact that this would be the only place in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament where letters would be used for numbers would also assist in their misinterpretation and consequent disappearance.

After the opening statement the story proceeds with a new outbreak of war against the Philistines caused by Jonathan. This could presumably only have happened when Saul was in an independent position as king. But Samuel still maintained

¹ Targum interprets that Saul was as innocent as a child of one year. Rashi takes it as meaning in the first year ; other Rabbinic commentators that a year had passed since his anointing.

his position as chief priest, and just as to Eleazar was assigned the task of interpreting the will of God to Joshua, so Saul has to apply to Samuel. Saul accordingly repairs to Gilgal, having no doubt made an appointment with Samuel, in order to ascertain the mind of the Lord before engaging in battle. But, as we have good reason to believe, relations between Samuel and Saul were now strained. Saul waits the customary seven days appointed by Samuel, but the latter did not appear to offer the appropriate sacrifices. Was this merely accident, or was it design? Saul faced with a difficult situation due to the delay, with his army beginning to melt away, took it upon himself to offer the sacrifices. And thereby Saul put himself in the wrong. He was trespassing upon the peculiar function of the priesthood and violating its most closely guarded privileges. Then Samuel suddenly appears and shows, as might be expected, keen resentment. He denounces Saul fiercely and gives him that dire message that for his sacrilege the Lord has condemned him to lose his throne. There is now an open breach between Samuel and Saul; and Saul, either by way of retaliation or because he had no option, calls in to his aid as his priest, Ahijah, a great grandson of Eli. If this was a counter by Saul to Samuel's sentence of deposition, it was a shrewd move, for Eli's office was hereditary, and on that score Samuel had no claim to succeed Eli. Samuel's claim to the position he occupied was the national recognition accorded to him as a prophet of the Lord and the manifest evidences of divine favour towards him. With Ahijah there comes the re-introduction of the Shiloh high-priesthood and the reappearance of the Ark of the Covenant once more on the field of battle. When Saul hears the tumult in the Philistine camp he instructs Ahijah to withdraw his hand from the ark. Ahijah presumably was attempting to ascertain the will of God before the battle. Saul, by his peremptory command, showed plainly the new position he had assumed. He had had to take orders from Samuel because Samuel had in effect appointed him, but now Saul gives orders to Ahijah, because the latter was appointed to his post by him. The civil power has now gained the ascendancy over the religious as exemplified by this particular relationship. Furthermore, he assumes the mantle of Samuel

in laying a curse upon the army if anyone should taste food throughout the day of battle. But this nearly recoiled on his own head for Jonathan was the one who disobeyed and only the intervention of the people saved him from death. Then, also, the people, ravenously hungry from long abstention from food, fall upon the sheep, oxen and calves and sin by eating the flesh with the blood. This led to Saul's building an altar, or rather first rolling a great stone for that purpose, to which the people would bring their sacrifices. Presumably the altar was one at which Saul himself would wish to officiate, and thereby himself multiply sin. Saul in the rôle of Samuel was not a success, and it was the intention of the narrator that it should be made clear that he was not. Moreover, with all his manœuvring he could not get into direct contact with God. When, on the advice of Ahijah, Saul in his Samuel rôle, seeks counsel of God: "Shall I go down after the Philistines? Wilt thou deliver them into the hand of Israel?", there is no answer. And in trying to ascertain the cause Jonathan's transgression is uncovered.

Such then are the outstanding incidents in the fifth section, whose theme is the advancement of Saul and the retrogression of Samuel. But the failure of Saul to make his position good over against Samuel is made abundantly clear. Saul may have forced his way into the foreground and the limelight, but behind him looms the much greater figure of Samuel. Although the latter has been driven into the background you are made to feel that he still dominates the stage.

Section VI. Chapter 15 forms the sixth section. Its theme is the final break between Samuel and Saul, and the latter's rejection by the Lord. This might have been made part of the preceding section, but an introduction to David's anointing and appearance on the scene, is necessary, and this section supplies it admirably. Here is recorded another incident where Saul deliberately flouts Samuel's authority and seeks to usurp his place and functions. With but thinly veiled asperity Samuel conveys to Saul the word of God on the complete destruction of the Amalekites against whom Saul is bidden to fight. Listen to Samuel's words as here recorded:

“The Lord sent me to anoint thee to be king over his people, over Israel ; now therefore, hearken thou unto the voice of the words of the Lord.”

He then goes on to instruct him to go and smite Amalek and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not. It is the voice of authority speaking to one in an inferior position. It is the voice, also, of one who fully expects his words to be disregarded or evaded. And, indeed, the expected happens. Saul spares Agag and the best of the flocks and herds in order to offer appropriate sacrifices to the Lord in Gilgal, as he plausibly explains. Once more Samuel's authority is flouted and his position publicly assailed. Samuel is deeply enraged, and calls Saul sharply to account. Saul wishes to patch things up, but Samuel turns angrily away, rending his cloak which Saul in his eagerness had laid hold on. That, Samuel points out to Saul, is symbolic of the rending from him of the kingdom. To save Saul's face there is a show of reconciliation, but it is the end. The narration of the incident ends with the hewing in pieces of Agag. The close of the section is plainly marked by a couple of short paragraphs, separated from the main text by *sethūmah* intervals before and behind. They form the *supplementa*, and are as follows :

Then Samuel sent to Ramah ; and Saul went up to his house to Gibeah of Saul. And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death ; for Samuel mourned for Saul : and the Lord repented that he had made Saul king over Israel.

With the close of the sixth section we enter upon another topic, Samuel's introduction of David as the rival of Saul. Thereafter Samuel practically disappears from the scene and the stage is taken by Saul and David.

“In those days there was no king in Israel : every man did that which was right in his own eyes.” This, the last verse in the book of Judges, supplies the key to the understanding of our portion of the book of Samuel. The suggestion contained in the words is that the administration of the country, apparently in the hands of the priesthoods of the regional shrines, was not such as to ensure law and order. This only came with the firmer administration under a military ruler, a king. The compiler

wishes to show how the administration passed from the hands of the priesthood into that of the monarchy. It is highly probable that he selected from the available material only such portions as fitted into his scheme. The rest was most likely discarded to our grievous loss. What would we not give to know the full story of Samuel's life and his activities on the religious, literary, and judicial sides of which we have nothing but vague hints and uncertain traditions. But only that side of his life is presented which bears upon, and leads towards, the institution of the monarchy.

The sections into which the compiler has gathered his material follow a logical order, which is also basically chronological. Thus as themes we have: in (1) Eli and his sons and Samuel as a child; in (2) the Ark and its use with the army as a substitute for military leadership, with its subsequent adventures; (3) Samuel, the prophet, as military leader in a sanctified Israel; (4) the change-over from religious leadership to civil, with two subdivisions: (a) the *nagīd*-ship eventuating in a kingship, and (b) the exploit of Saul against Nahash, which either clinched his possession of the kingship or was the real cause which brought it about; (5) civil leadership in the ascendant, but with Samuel asserting his privileges as a chief-priest; (6) Samuel's final break with Saul and the latter's rejection in favour of another civil ruler, David.

Within the individual sections the arrangement of the material is not necessarily chronological. Within each is gathered the material which has a bearing on the theme of that section, drawn from any part of the Samuel-Saul history. Thus we have seen that in the fourth section, on the institution of the monarchy, the opening paragraph refers to an incident which took place late in Samuel's life. But because it raises the question of a monarch for the nation and thus introduces the theme, it is placed before other events which were clearly earlier in time. This method of grouping material is, in general, the explanation of the apparently disordered state of the Samuel text which has proved the despair of critics, and led to the varied reconstructions and integrations which have been offered.

We must assume, I think, that the compiler in piecing together

his materials as he has done, has something he wishes to tell us. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that there is plan and purpose in every book of the Old Testament. There is no haphazard arrangement. What, then, is he trying to tell us? What estimate can we form of the historical situation? We can best get our answer from a general consideration of the early history of Israel. I think it can be said that in all the criticism to which the traditions of Israel have been subjected, no serious attempt has been made to challenge the authenticity of the sojourn in the desert (or more properly the uncultivated lands). That the Israelites in their wanderings were an organised body goes without saying. That they had in Moses a leader and law giver it seems impossible to dispute. That there emerged alongside this leadership a priestly organisation of great power is matter of tradition, and *a priori* a development to be expected. Aaron and his family, and the Levites in general with their segregation and their privileges, marked the upward surge of a professional priestly caste. Aaron takes his place beside Moses, and is regarded as very little inferior to him. When Moses dies and Joshua succeeds him, the priesthood in the person of Eleazar is still to the forefront, and is a power to be reckoned with. It stands between the military leader and God, and remains the regular channel of divine communication. The leaders of the people, both prophet and priest, were traditionally in direct touch with God who, through them, guided his chosen people. This form of theocratic government was specially applicable to the conditions of the nomadic state which was temporarily that of Israel. When danger threatened the people could remove themselves from it with all their belongings. When they wished to threaten danger to others they could choose the time and place of assault. It was the practice of the Hebrews during their wanderings to send out spies before venturing to attack. But the situation altered when the tribes settled in Palestine. They could no longer remove themselves from danger; they were anchored to their possessions. In the theocratic state the organisation of defence, involving as it did the delay necessary in ascertaining the will of God, was not now so suited to the conditions as formerly. Inevitably, living as they did under the

threat of sudden onslaught, the people would look to the warrior rather than to the priest. They could see how effective in operation the military organisations of neighbouring states under civil rulers could be, and they must have seemed to their anxious eyes more satisfactory for meeting the swift enemy raid than their own. Thus there would, and in fact there did, grow up a movement for a king. This movement did not spring up overnight. It was an undercurrent which at times came to the surface and made itself felt. When Gideon was successful against the Midianites, the people urged him, but in vain, to become their king. He refused to have any hand in promoting a rival organisation to the theocratic state.

All great movements focus eventually in individuals, and the great rivalry between the religious and the civil powers for control of the state in Israel, centred at this period in Samuel and Saul, two great and outstanding personalities. We can follow the course of events as outlined by the compiler in the first fifteen chapters.

Throughout the book of Judges we find that the deliverers of Israel, who were raised up to meet the situation, were military heroes. There is no question of their office continuing after them, or being passed on to their descendants. But in Eli we find for the first time a judge who is also a priest. This was bound to raise complications, for the office of chief priest was hereditary. And it did appear that one of Eli's sons would naturally follow his father in office. This could hardly have been agreeable to the people who wanted military leadership, and still less agreeable when it was realised that Eli, as well as his sons, indeed because of them, was in disfavour with the Lord. Thus the theocratic state could not operate, and the people were cut off from divine direction and assistance. In the absence of a divine oracle and with no military leader raised up for them, they asked that the ark should accompany them to the battle. The results, as we know, were disastrous. When Eli passes from the stage Israel has another priestly leader and judge in Samuel, who is, in addition, nationally recognised as a prophet of God. Samuel is also a chief priest. The position is, however, different, for Samuel is in favour with God, and he leads successfully and

victoriously a re-consecrated people for many years. Neither Samuel nor the people make use of the ark in battle, but the people, while satisfied with the justice, efficiency, and success of Samuel's rule, clearly dread in his case also, that he would expect to be succeeded in office by one of his sons. Their uneasiness could only have been increased when they saw that he had made his sons judges over Israel. They press their demand for a king on the ground that they wished to be like their neighbours, but the fact that they were also influenced by the worthlessness of Samuel's sons is but ill-concealed. Samuel's opposition, we are told, gives place to reluctant acquiescence at the bidding of the Lord. Samuel's face is saved by the explanation that it was the Lord who has been rejected, not Samuel. When Saul became king, Samuel still retained a privileged source of power to which Saul could never hope to gain access, the priestly office and the right to offer sacrifice. Samuel was prophet and judge as well as priest. Saul eventually secured the civil leadership, and by contact with a band of prophets, when they were in prophetic ecstasy, even acquired a nuance of prophetism, so much so that people could ask each other: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" But in the priestly office where he acted as intermediary between the Lord and the people, Samuel was firmly entrenched, and from there neither Saul nor the people could oust him. And it was Saul's attempts to trespass on this holy ground and usurp the office which led to his undoing. Saul clearly chafed at this priestly power which dominated him. No doubt the neighbouring kings appointed their chief priests, but here it had been the other way round. We have already seen how Saul tried to shake off this priestly predominance. But Samuel was alert to every move, and could counter effectively. When the break between Samuel and Saul came, the latter's appointment of Ahijah to be his priest, no doubt gave him control over the new priesthood, but it could not eliminate Samuel. The latter anointed David to become at the appointed time Saul's successor in the kingship, and he sheltered and protected him when Saul, alive to his danger, wanted to lay violent hands upon him. Saul, disowned by God, thwarted at every turn by Samuel, dejected, dispirited, moves slowly to his doom. Samuel dies full of honour, lamented

by all Israel. There is pathos as well as drama in the account of Saul's visit at dead of night to the witch of Endor. It is the last expedient of one to whom his God has turned a deaf ear, and yet he feels he *must* learn what the outcome of the approaching battle will be. Only through Samuel had he ever been able to learn from God what the future had in store for him and for Israel. It is not a happy response which the shade of Samuel, cross at being disturbed, gives to Saul: "To-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me, and the Lord shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines" [1 Sam. 28 : 19]. An eerie scene, a grim message, the eve of Gilboa !

The story of Samuel and Saul is the age-long struggle for supremacy between the civil and religious powers. It was re-enacted again and again in the rivalries of Pope and Emperor in the Holy Roman Empire. The conflict was bound to arise in Israel before the monarchy could be brought into being and firmly established. It so happens that when the clash came the rival movements focussed in two remarkable personalities, Samuel and Saul. Samuel, stern, implacable, jealous for God and for his own position before God, fiercely resentful of any intrusion into the position and privileges of the priesthood : Saul, a warrior and man of action, of dominating will, asserting his royal position and chafing at his subordinate rank in relation to Samuel. In the struggle for power the fortunes of each ebbed and flowed, but we cannot escape the impression that although Saul attained the highest post in the land by becoming king, Samuel yet remained master of the situation. The conflict was inevitable, and in the circumstances of that age, since the priesthood could offer only uncertain and ineffective leadership in mundane affairs it was bound to lose in the end. With the accession of David the relationship between the priesthood and the monarchy was readjusted. The passing of Samuel had left the way open for the advance of the civil power. Solomon, by appointing Zadok to the office of chief priest, reversed the rôles of Samuel and Saul. The priest was now subordinate to the king. With the disappearance of the monarchy at the time of the Exile, the priesthood was left in possession of the field. The wheel had now gone full turn. The religious organisation had once more triumphed over the civil.

It was, then, the contest for primacy between the priesthood, with its age-long traditions, and the civil power, gradually gathering strength from the in-settling in the Holy Land, which the compiler of the Samuel-Saul history has succeeded in depicting. The literary fragments of which he has made use have been formed into a mosaic of his own design with an almost entire absence of 'connective tissue'. The compiler wished to avoid, as far as was possible, even the appearance of giving his own views on the early history. To accomplish this he was content to select suitable portions from the early records, and by their ingenious arrangement he has left it to them to tell the story. This self-effacement was not peculiar to the compiler of the book of Samuel. It would seem to have been the attitude of mind of the Hebrew compilers in general towards the ancient narratives and traditions of which they made use, for veneration of scriptures can claim a long tradition. The period we have been discussing was an age of great happenings in the history of Israel. It produced in Samuel and Saul two great personalities of whom we learn just enough to appreciate how great they really were, and of whom we fain would know much more.

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THE HERALDRY OF MANCHESTER.

BY H. ELLIS TOMLINSON, M.A., F.S.A.Scot.

TO the average citizen of Manchester, or indeed of any British community, the armorial bearings of the Corporation are simply a design to be seen upon tramcars or "crest china." There is a general feeling that heraldry is a study for the few, and that most people have no occasion to occupy themselves with a subject requiring special knowledge. The fact is that the heraldry of a Corporation of any kind is no mere collection of charges of no particular significance, but a symbolical statement of the history and activities of the Corporation, and a very little knowledge of the principles of heraldry will enable the observer to appreciate something of its meaning. This is even more surely the case with Corporation heraldry, which is invariably designed *ad hoc*, for the coat of arms of a person may have no significance at all. Nobody knows why the de Lacys chose a purple lion on a field of gold—they might just as easily have borne a golden eagle upon purple, or a green cross upon silver—but anyone who knows the de Lacy lion will recognise it in the arms of Haslingden, and will realise that the family had something to do with the history of the borough.

Two notable attempts have been made to familiarise people with the corporate heraldry of Britain, in A. C. Fox-Davies' *Book of Public Arms*, whose last edition included all authentic heraldry in the United Kingdom and much spurious matter, up to 1915; and in C. W. Scott-Giles' *Civic Heraldry of England and Wales*, which covers authentic and non-registered municipal devices up to ten years ago. The latter work describes the arms in non-technical language, and gives some explanation of the significance of the bearings; in his article on Manchester's arms, however, the author has been led astray by one or two popular misconceptions, and it seems opportune to deal with the City arms here, together with those of some other Manchester bodies which have obtained grants of arms since the publication of

these two valuable works. The City arms may be blazoned as follows :

Gules three bendlets enhanced or, on a chief argent a three-masted ship in full sail upon waves of the sea proper. Crest : A terrestrial globe charged with seven bees volant proper. Supporters : Dexter, an heraldic antelope argent, maned, armed, hooved, gorged with a collar and attached thereto a chain or, and charged on the shoulder with a rose of Lancaster ; sinister, a lion gardant or, murally crowned gules and also charged upon the shoulder with a like rose.

Motto : Concilio et Labore. (Plate 1, Fig. 1.)

The shield is very simply conceived, which is rather surprising, considering the overcrowded compositions that were granted to civic authorities in the nineteenth century. Scott-Giles connects the bendlets with the coat of Byron of Rochdale, which was "Argent three bendlets enhanced gules" and may be seen in the unauthorised device of Hucknall, Nottinghamshire. There seems no reason to bring Byron into the Manchester coat on the tenuous link of that family's holding a neighbouring lordship, when one has to look no further than the first lords of the manor of Manchester. The arms of de Greilley, Grelley, Greslet—there are various spellings—were "Gules three bendlets enhanced or," and there we have the basis of the City arms. This coat is recorded in numerous early rolls, and the unpublished files of the late Oswald Barron, F.S.A., collect all together the various references. I have found no mention of the Byron coat earlier than the Grelley shield, and am inclined to think that it was in fact derived from the latter.

The chief of the shield is particularly interesting, as it precedes the opening of the Ship Canal by some fifty years. The inclusion of this prophetic bearing in the arms shows at least how definitely the project had taken shape even then. One would like to know what the Mancunians thought of the ship in the arms at that time—if they paid it any attention at all. A similar situation to-day would be a symbolic Channel Tunnel in a grant of arms to Folkestone or Newhaven.

The heraldic antelope is described by Scott-Giles as one of

the supporters of the arms of the Duke of Manchester. This is a coincidence, and an unfortunate one, as it leads too easily to the conclusion that, as in the case of many other municipal coats of arms, the heraldry of a peer taking his name from the town has been included. The Montagues do indeed have this supporter, but they take their title from Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and cannot reasonably be expected to have provided a supporter for the City arms. The explanation may be deduced from an examination of the fine heraldic panels over the portico and upon the ceiling of the hall of the Central Reference Library. The antelope is there found as a Beaufort bearing, and appears as a Manchester supporter simply as a reference to the Duchy of Lancaster. Manchester was the first Lancashire town to have animal supporters (though Liverpool had acquired mythological characters in 1797), and it was no doubt considered appropriate to commemorate the event with an emblem of the Duchy. The antelope—which is not an antelope at all, but something between a stag and a wolf—was also granted as the sinister supporter of the arms of Salford, two years later (1844).

Another impression about heraldry is that a coat of arms can only be depicted in one way, and that if there exists an official painting such as that executed in the original patent, all other representations must follow that painting to the most minute detail, even to the convolutions of the mantling, the tufts on a lion's mane, or the exact shade of blue or red employed. Nothing could be more false or detrimental to the development of heraldic art. So long as the description of the official blazon is followed, the method of display is regulated entirely by the exigencies of the medium required and the individual technique of the artist. An achievement of arms may be fitted skilfully into a square panel in stone, a rectangular book-plate or a circular stained-glass window, and nobody would reasonably expect the proportions and method of arrangement to be identical in all three cases. A glance at a little book called *The Arms of the City of Leicester* will demonstrate this. This book contains examples of the City arms evolved by members of the Leicester College of Art and Crafts, designed for use in book-plates, windows, seals, panels, and on vehicles. It is usually upon the Corporation's vehicles

that the arms have their greatest publicity, and it is very regrettable that often the most unpleasing version of the arms is used for this purpose. The reason is plain to see—either for the sake of convenience or because of the belief that the original version must not be tampered with, a transfer of the painting upon the patent is made, and the original is propagated about the City. There is no harm in this, provided that the original painting is good heraldic art. One could dwell at length on the question of what is good heraldic art, but it must here suffice to say that it is generally agreed that the official paintings from the College of Arms during the last century were bad heraldic art, with their impossible helmets, deckle-edged shields, string-like mantling, and unheraldic-looking animals. It is unfortunate that the Manchester arms are displayed upon the Corporation transport vehicles in this nineteenth-century style, supposedly transferred from the official painting. The shield is of the florally decorated type ; the crest, which by its very nature looks rather precarious in any arrangement, is perched unsubstantially upon its wreath and suspended above the shield without the helm and mantling ; the lion follows the realistic type rather than the graceful heraldic animal, and the supporters are involved with the motto-scroll in the unsatisfactory ornament which one heraldic writer has aptly called the “ gas-bracket.” Since these arms were granted, the problem of the base for the supporters to stand on has been solved by the introduction of the compartment, which usually takes the form of a grassy mound, though some towns and institutions connected with the sea use a compartment of sand and water, or rocks. This again is left to the discretion of the artist, who has to consider not only the significance of the arms and the character of the body to which they belong, but the nature of the supporters. Thus, supporters such as lions or other quadrupeds look best upon a compartment of grass, while fishermen and animals terminating in a fish-tail look best upon sand and water. In the arms of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (*q.v.*) and the British Overseas Airways Corporation, the supporters, a lion and a sea-lion, stand upon a compartment made of grass on the dexter and water in the sinister.

A reconstruction of the Manchester City Arms, then, for use

upon the trams and buses, would mean placing the crest upon the usual closed helm used by Corporations, furnished with red and gold mantling, which, curling up on each side of the globe, would give it a more stable appearance. The shield would be of the plain heater type now used, the lion would be truly heraldic, and the whole would be placed upon a compartment of grass. (See Plate 1, Fig. 1.) Such a rearrangement has in fact been made already for the Central Library book-plates, and a fine carved panel in the modern style may be seen over the door of the Woolwich Equitable building in St. Peter's Square. If anyone should doubt that the arms look better done this way, let him look at the Birmingham Corporation buses or those of Edinburgh and Lancaster, and compare them with the vehicles of Manchester and Salford, and decide which have the better heraldic display. Even in the case of arms with crests only and no supporters, the design looks much better with the helm, mantling and shield drawn in modern style—which is after all, merely mediæval style in modern draughtsmanship. The nineteenth-century arms of Oldham and Ashton are pleasingly displayed in modern style upon the Corporation vehicles, and look much better than those upon the buses of Rochdale, for example, which carry the arms as painted upon the mid-nineteenth century patent, with the distressing addition of a greenish growth upon the silver lining of the mantling. The arms of Stockport, granted in 1932, are shown without helm and mantling, though the crest is placed within a mural crown and looks less isolated than it would if placed upon a wreath without helm.

Is it too much to hope that after a hundred years of use in its original form, the achievement of arms of the City of Manchester may receive a new lease of life in modern dress? It is a good design, and a well-known one, and will stand re-fashioning, as the Library book-plates show. Perhaps a century of possession of this coat of arms could be signalised by the granting of a badge, carrying the right to a standard. No town in Lancashire has obtained a badge, though the Cities of Bradford, Nottingham and Exeter, by grants of badge and standard, have now acquired the maximum of heraldic insignia. The Boroughs of Hertford and Llanelly have also obtained badges, but the former has no crest and the latter no supporters.

The arms of the *See of Manchester* are a pleasing design, and indicate very simply that the diocese was carved out of the See of Chester and has Manchester for its seat. The blazon is "Or, on a pale engrailed gules three mitres gold, on a canton gules three bendlets enhanced or." The arms of the See of Chester are "Gules three mitres or," and this forms the basis of the Manchester episcopal coat. The City bendlets are placed on a canton. It is possible that this coat set the fashion for the heraldry of the younger dioceses, for most of those created subsequently show emblems from the arms of the parent see or province and of the cathedral town. The shield, ensigned with an episcopal mitre, will be found in *Burke's Peerage* under Lords Spiritual.

The arms of the *University of Manchester* are dealt with in Fox-Davies' *Book of Public Arms*. They are properly those granted to Owens College as the Manchester partner of the Victoria University, which had a separate coat of arms, showing a Lancaster and a York rose impaled, with the globe from the Manchester arms, the Liverpool cormorant and the Leeds fleece. This may be seen in the large window in the Whitworth Hall at the University.

The shield of the University arms is purely symbolic, but we find the well-known Manchester bendlets in the crest. This shows a shield hanging from a palm-tree; its description is "Argent a lion gules, on a chief of the last three bendlets or." The lion is probably a reference to the arms which John Owens is supposed to have used. These are "Gules a chevron between three lions or," attributed to one of the Welsh patriarchs, Awfa ap Cynddelw, and borne by his descendants, the Owens of Bodowen in Anglesey, and used without authority by the Anglesey County Council. This coat may be seen, together with the University shield, flanking one of the Oxford Road gates.

Four more coats with Manchester associations, all described in Fox-Davies (*op. cit.*) remain to be mentioned. They are the arms of the *Manchester Overseers*, the *Manchester, Liverpool, and District Bank* (now the *District Bank* tout court), the *Great Central Railway*, and *Williams Deacons Bank*.

All these coats recall their association with Manchester by

means of the bendlets. The Overseers have them in a little shield in chief, and the District Bank takes two of the bendlets and makes them red upon silver, possibly with the Byron myth in mind.¹ The Great Central was the first railway company to have a grant of arms, and the design—a very crowded and in-artistic composition—included, *inter alia*, the Sheffield sheaf of arrows, the Manchester bendlets, and the Lincoln fleur-de-lys. When the G.C. was absorbed twenty years ago into the L.N.E.R., this coat of arms was rendered obsolete, and the new company obtained its present armorial bearings. These contain emblems from the arms of England, Scotland, London, Edinburgh and York, and so the Manchester bendlets disappear from the coat. Incidentally, this is still the only railway company to possess a grant of arms. The G.W.R. very improperly impales the arms of London and Bristol, and the L.M.S. uses a device which includes the English rose, the Scottish thistle and the unregistered crest used by the City of London. The Southern Railway has been considering a grant of arms, but the question has been deferred during war-time.

We now come to grants of arms made subsequently to those entered in Fox-Davies, which show their association with Manchester in their armorial insignia.

Manchester College, Oxford, must surely be regarded as a Manchester institution in spite of its removal to Oxford. At any rate, those responsible for the design of its arms have thought it proper to make no small allusion to the City which saw the founding of this college in the late eighteenth century.

Arms: Gules two torches in saltire inflamed or, on a chief argent an open book proper between two roses of Lancaster. Crest: Out of a celestial crown or, a demi-heraldic antelope argent, maned, armed, hooved, gorged with a collar and attached thereto a chain or, and charged on the shoulder with a rose of Lancaster.

Motto: Veritas, libertas, pietas. (Plate I, Fig. 4.)

Like the City arms, the college shield has a red field and a silver chief, into which come the roses from the City supporters. The antelope from the City arms does duty for a crest and is

¹ Williams Deacons Bank bears the three bendlets, red on a gold chief.

shown exactly as in the City achievement, allowing for the fact that it has been turned round to face the dexter and is only shown half-length.

The torches and celestial crown suggest the aspirations expressed in the motto. The grant is registered in the 1933-35 docquet book.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce is the only one outside London to have registered arms. Certain points of similarity exist between this design and that of the London Chamber, whose arms were granted about three years previously.

Arms : Gules a balance within an orle of bees volant or.

Supporters : On the dexter a winged lion, and on the sinister a winged sea-lion, the interior wing of each expanded and elevated, the other inverted, or ; each supporting a staff flying a banner, that on the dexter sable fretty wavy argent and that on the sinister sable three bendlets enhanced argent.

Motto : Vigilans et utilis. (Plate 1, Fig. 2.)

These arms are registered in the 1937-38 docquet book.

The colours of the shield are red and gold, the livery colours of the City arms. The balance is the emblem of scrupulous dealing, and appropriately forms the central charge. The main feature of the London Chamber's coat is the Great Beam of London, the mediæval weighing-machine that played a large part in the commerce of the capital. The balance is surrounded by golden bees, emblems of industry and communal effort, and familiar as part of the City crest.

No crest is used, and a novel arrangement of the supporters fills up the space above the shield. The wings of the lions sweep up almost to meet over the shield, a device which may have been suggested by the London Chamber's arms, which show two seagulls as supporters, their interior wings rising above the shield in the same way. The Manchester Chamber's supporters are two British lions, one of them a sea-lion, and both winged ; these typify the spread of British commerce, not only by land and sea, but by the increasing volume of air traffic.

As mentioned previously, these supporters are shown upon a compartment half of grass and half of water. It is interesting

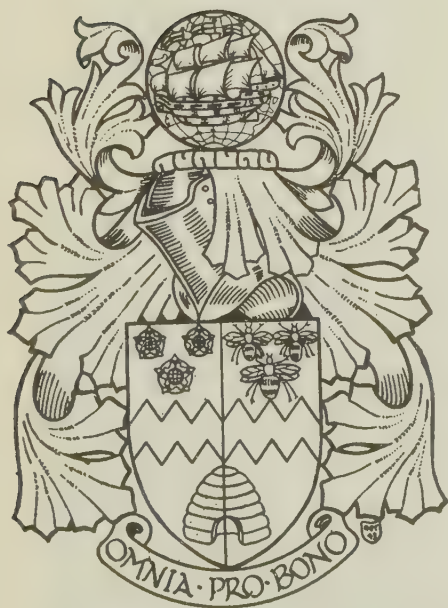
PLATE I.



1. MANCHESTER.



2. MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.



3. MANCHESTER PORT HEALTH
AUTHORITY.



4. MANCHESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

to compare these supporters with those of the British Overseas Airways Corporation, which are similar, except that they wear green collars and do not carry banners.

The Manchester Port Health Authority registered arms in 1940, after improperly using the City arms for many years. This is the only English port authority to bear arms, except the Port of London.

Arms : Party per pale or and azure, a fess indented and in base a beehive counterchanged, in dexter chief three roses of Lancaster and in sinister chief three bees volant or. Crest : A terrestrial globe charged with a ship of the sixteenth century, with three masts in full sail proper, flying three flags of St. George.

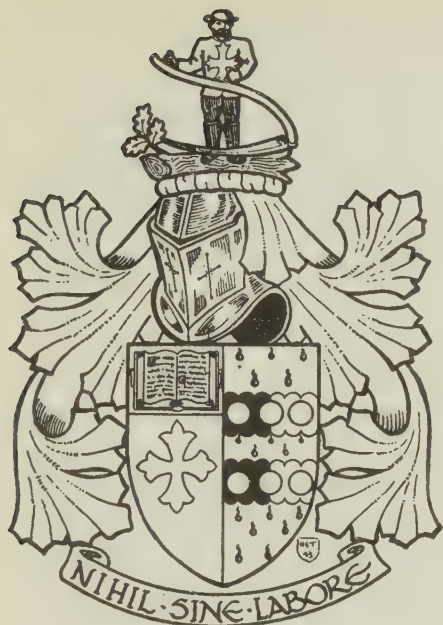
Motto : Omnia pro bono. (Plate 1, Fig. 3.)

The colours are those of the City of Salford, in which the Authority's headquarters are situated. The fess indented may be a reference to Manchester through the arms of the de la Warre family, though it may be taken from the arms of Sir Frederick West. The familiar bees of the Manchester and Salford arms are accompanied by a hive and three Lancaster roses. The globe from the Manchester arms is charged with a more precisely specified version of the sailing ship in the City arms.

A criticism of the arms as a design would be that the bees, hive and roses are not placed to the best advantage, for the intrusive red of the roses cuts asymmetrically into the counterchange. A better arrangement, possibly, would have been to part the field fesswise indented, following the line of the fess, so that the latter would be counterchanged. The red roses, horizontally in line, above the fess, and the hive between two bees, all gold, in base, would give the same charges and significance without disturbing the symmetry demanded by the counterchange. Alternatively, the dexter half of the fess and of the hive could have been made red to agree with the roses, thus effecting a striking three-colour counterchange.

From an analysis of the foregoing coats, it will be seen that no fewer than ten institutions have based their authorised heraldry to a greater or a less extent upon the arms of the City of Manchester. Seven use the de Greilly bendlets as the most familiar component

PLATE 2.



1. JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.



2. HARTLEY VICTORIA METHODIST COLLEGE.



3. SWINTON AND PENDLEBURY.



4. RADCLIFFE.

of the City coat. (The Chamber of Commerce shows them emblazoned silver on black, not only to difference them from their prototypes, but also to match the colours of the other banner, on the black field of which, representing coal, is placed a network of silver or white frets, indicating cotton-weaving and spinning.) Two authorities show the bees, two show the globe, one borrows the antelope supporter and one uses the ship. A ship is used for the crest of the District Bank, but this is probably the vessel displayed on the banner upheld by the sinister supporter of the arms of Liverpool.

No other town or city south of the Scottish border can claim such wide use of its armorial bearings, excepting always London, which, by its peculiar position as the centre of a county entirely constituted by municipal boroughs and as the headquarters of so many institutions, has lent its red cross and sword to scores of other coats of arms. It is noteworthy, however, that any part of the Manchester arms is capable of inclusion in a new design, whereas the crest and supporters used by the capital have, incongruously enough, never been registered at the College of Arms, and will not therefore be seen in other coats based upon the City arms, though griffin supporters are sometimes seen as an approach to the unauthorised dragons. Liverpool's liver-bird is borrowed by the University, Martin's Bank and the Clyde and Mersey Investment Trust, and its ship by the See and possibly by the District Bank. Other places can show their emblems in two or three other coats of arms, but these two Lancashire cities have, so to speak, the widest circulation for their heraldry, and it is fitting that Lancashire should be England's most thoroughly armigerous county, at least as regards corporate heraldry. Only three of its many boroughs have no coat of arms—Clitheroe and Preston, which use the emblems of the borough seal placed upon a shield, and Colne, which displays a home-made device. Even the County of London has more unauthorised borough coats than Lancashire, though it has, to compensate, a very large number of non-municipal armigerous bodies situated within its borders.

Manchester also has two other institutions bearing arms, though they do not borrow any of the City's emblems. They are

PLATE 3.



1. FARNWORTH.



2. PRESTWICH.



3. DENTON.



4. URMSTON.

The John Rylands Library and The Hartley Victoria Methodist College.

John Rylands bore no arms during his lifetime, but Mrs. Rylands obtained a grant of arms for use by herself "as his widow, and by his descendants," and obtained authority in the grant for the arms "to be placed on a monument or otherwise to the memory of the said John Rylands." These were granted in 1893, and the blazon runs :

"Azure a cross patonce or, on a chief of the last an open book proper. Crest : Upon the trunk of a tree eradicated fessewise and sprouting, a Mower vested, in his hands his scythe, all proper, charged on the breast with a cross patonce or."

The Rylands coat impales that granted at the same time to Mrs. Rylands :

" . . . we do further grant the arms following for Tennant, that is to say, Argent gutté de poix two Bars invected per pale sable and gules, each Bar charged with three Bezants." (Plate 2, Fig. 1.)

The book, of course, is a very apt charge, and the cross was a happy choice, for there has always been a very prominent place in the Library's work for the study of Biblical manuscripts. The mower in the crest may represent the idea of humble but honest labour, but it also provides a link with Manchester, perhaps unconsciously, for the crest of the de Traffords was also a mower, referring, if we are to believe the legend, to an early de Trafford who escaped capture by disguising himself as a farm worker and joining in the labour of some peasants while his pursuers went by. This is commemorated in the arms of the borough of Stretford by the flail and scythe in the shield. The tree-trunk uprooted and felled may be a symbol of the failure of the Rylands line, there being no descendants, but the Garter of that period, Sir Albert Woods, was very much addicted to tree-trunks and sprigs of flowers in his grants of crests, and this may be no exception to his habit. The motto used is "*Nihil sine Labore*," which links up suitably with the worker in the crest.

The Hartley Victoria Methodist College obtained arms in 1937.

Arms : Azure a hart courant between three fleurs-de-lys argent. Crest : A hart charged with an antique lamp of flaming proper.

Motto : Ubi spiritus ibi libertas. (Plate 2, Fig. 2.)

The shield is simply conceived upon a pun, made by the "hart" and the "lys," on the name of the college. The hart is repeated in the crest, with a lamp of enlightenment, and the motto indicates the sincerity of belief of the free churches.

It is a pity that three of Manchester's most familiar coats of arms are borne without authority. Manchester Grammar School not only appropriates the arms of Hugh Oldham, but also the arms of the See of Exeter—which he was alone competent to impale with his own during his tenure of the bishopric—and the Bishop's mitre ensigning the shield. A foundation of the fame and antiquity of Manchester Grammar School is worthy of genuine arms based on those of the founder—but innocent of the emblems of the See of Exeter, which may only be borne by the Bishop. The undesirability of displaying a founder's arms *in toto* is shown by the concurrent use of the coat of William Hulme both by Hulme Grammar School and Hulme Hall, Manchester, and also by the Hulme Grammar School, Oldham, with very slight modification in the case of the latter. Chetham's Hospital and Society use the quartered coat of Humphrey Chetham, and the Moseley arms are "borrowed" by Burnage High School.

The last decade before the present war was a period of great progress in local government. Many urban districts obtained charters of incorporation as municipal boroughs, entailing a right to "assume armorial bearings which shall be duly enrolled in the Heralds' College." The majority of these are situated near populous centres of industry, where incorporation as a borough is in the nature of a defence against absorption by the neighbouring big cities. About a score of these boroughs grew up in the London area, five in the region of Birmingham, and nine in Lancashire and Cheshire. Seven of these are neighbours of Manchester, the others being in the Liverpool-Birkenhead area.

Five of these seven boroughs are in Lancashire and their heraldry provides an interesting collection. A point to notice is that all, with the exception of Stretford, have used the privilege of municipal boroughs to have supporters. Urban districts may have arms and crests, but not supporters, which may be added on incorporation. Stretford obtained arms while still an urban district, but did not add supporters when it became a borough in 1934. There was for a long time some confusion as to which towns were entitled to supporters, and a general impression that only cities should have them is undermined by the fact that several towns had grants of supporters while still below that status. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, many industrial towns received charters of incorporations and grants of arms, but most of them did not have supporters. In fact no Lancashire town obtaining arms in the period of industrial development (1850-1900) received a grant of supporters. Liverpool had them in 1797, Manchester in 1842, and Salford in 1844. It was nearly sixty years, however, before supporters were seen again in Lancashire, this time in the grant made in 1903 to the County Council, which was the first to have supporters. Lancaster followed in 1907, and except for the grant to Wigan in 1922, another quarter century elapsed before the "incorporation peak" of 1934-39 brought supporters into common use in the county.

Stretford obtained its arms in 1933, and these are described in Scott-Giles' *Civic Heraldry*. This was the first of the new series of municipal arms in Lancashire, and a notable item in the blazon is the coronet in the crest, described as "a crown of 8 roses gules (of which five are visible) set upon a rim or." This takes the place of the more conventional mural crown, and may conveniently be described as a coronet of Lancaster. It has had something of a vogue in Lancashire municipal heraldry, and it is interesting to see that a corresponding crown of York roses has been invented for Bridlington. The crown of red roses has been granted to Swinton and Pendlebury, and also to Farnworth (*q.v.*).

Swinton and Pendlebury received its charter on 29th September, 1934.

Arms : Gules a cockatrice or, on a chief per pale or and argent a leopard between two roses gules. Crest : On a coronet of Lancaster a boar's head erased argent, armed azure. Supporters : On either side a lion or, holding in the interior paw a pickaxe gules.

Motto : *Salus populi suprema lex.* (Plate 2, Fig. 3.)

The cockatrice is from the Langley arms. Robert de Langley acquired Agecroft in Pendlebury in 1416. The chief seems to indicate the Worsleys, several branches of whom bore variously "Gules a chief argent" and "Argent a chief gules." Richard, second lord of Worsley, held a moiety of Swinton. The leopard may be a reference to the fact that the manor was for some time attached to the Crown, though it may be taken primarily from the arms of the Duchy and county. The lions may have the same significance ; they hold picks as a reference to the industries of the borough. The motto is very popular in civic heraldry, and is used with slight variations by Lytham St. Annes and Urmston in Lancashire, also by Tipton, Tonbridge and Willenhall. The words are actually a quotation from the public laws of Rome : "*Salus populi suprema lex esto*"—"Let the welfare of the community be the highest law."

Radcliffe was incorporated on 21st September, 1935.

Arms : Argent two bendlets engrailed sable between a cross potent voided and a rose gules. Crest : On a mural crown or a leopard or resting the dexter forepaw on a pheon sable. Supporters : On the dexter a bull argent, armed and hooved and gorged with a mural crown attached thereto a chain all or, and charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lys sable ; on the sinister a lion sable, similarly gorged and chained, and charged on the shoulder with a fleur-de-lys argent.

Motto : *Industria ditat.* (Plate 2, Fig. 4.)

The basis of the design is the arms of the Radcliffe family. To their bendlets are added the voided cross of the Pilkingtons and a rose of Lancaster. The mural crown is a symbol of a town or community, and upon it stands a royal leopard. This, and the fleur-de-lys which is seen on each of the supporters, are taken from the old device of the Urban District Council, which used

the arms of the Earl of Wilton impaled with those of the City of Lancaster. The broad arrow is also retained from the Egerton arms.

The bull is from the Radcliffe crest, which is a bull's head, and several branches show it chained, hence no doubt the chains with which the supporters are furnished, though they are also used to indicate orderly government. The lion is probably that from the Egerton arms—"Argent a lion gules between three pheons sable." The colours of the supporters are silver or white and black, the livery colours of the shield, and these tinctures were deliberately chosen to indicate cotton and coal, to which, as the motto indicates, the borough owes its prosperity.

Farnworth was incorporated on 30th September, 1939.

Arms : Azure, on a chevron between three hornets or, two cotton cops of the field. Crest : Out of a coronet of Lancaster, a stag's head and neck caboshed or between two branches of fern proper. Supporters : a stag and a lion each azure and gorged with a collar or charged with three roses of Lancaster.

Motto : *Juste nec timide.* (Plate 3, Fig. 1.)

The shield is indicative of the borough's industries, paper-making and cotton-spinning. "Hornets are nature's paper-makers," says a note issued by the corporation, and these are certainly unique in civic heraldry. The stag's head is the crest of the Hulton family, and was formerly used by the Urban District Council. The branches of fern are a reference to the name of the borough—"the settlement among the ferns." The Hulton arms included a lion, and this gives the sinister supporter, while their stag's head crest provides the other. Although the blazon does not say so, the stag is shown without his head of antlers, as a symbol of the community's banding together, for the stag relinquishes his antlers when living in an organised herd. The stag is shown thus in the painting with which the Corporation's Charter Celebrations book is decorated, and presumably upon the letters patent also. The motto is a Latinised version of that previously used by the U.D.C.—"Be just and fear not."

Prestwich was raised to the status of a borough on 14th October, 1939.

Arms : Argent, on a pile between two roses gules, two swans' heads erased ermine and a fleur-de-lys argent. Crest : A lozenge azure charged with a fleur-de-lys argent, between two roses gules. Supporters : A wyvern regardant or, and a lion regardant argent, both gorged with a riband suspended therefrom a lozenge azure charged with a fleur-de-lys argent.

Motto : Recte fac, noli timere. (Plate 3, Fig. 2.)

The "white field" of the arms refers, unconsciously perhaps, to the district of that name, and between the Lancaster roses is a pile carrying the heads of the swan supporters of the arms of the Cokes, Earls of Leicester, and also the fleur-de-lys which is often used as the symbol of St. Mary and here indicates the Parish Church which bears her name. The colours attributed to her in mediæval hagiology were blue and white, and these are shown in the lozenges in the crest and hung about the supporters' necks. The lozenge, of course, is used instead of the shield to display the arms of a lady, and it is therefore appropriate to show the fleurs-de-lys upon lozenges here. The lozenge is also used, because of its resemblance in shape to the spindle, to represent the cotton industry, as in the arms of Blackburn.

The supporters are the wyvern and lion of the Egertons, Earls of Wilton, who were seated at Heaton Park. These are differenced with the lozenges and fleurs-de-lys seen in the crest, and they also look over their shoulders, as if reviewing the past. The motto "Do rightly and fear not" recalls that of Farnworth.

Besides these boroughs, there are two urban districts near Manchester which have obtained grants of arms without waiting for incorporation. *Denton* and *Urmston* are, in fact, the only urban districts in Lancashire to possess arms.

Scott-Giles, in dealing with the device used by Denton up to the granting of the present arms, draws attention to the fact that in impaling the arms of the families of Denton and Haughton, the U.D.C., instead of thereby representing the union of the two townships that bear those names, really indicated a marriage between the two families. A comparison between the old device and the new arms will show that the essential features of both

coats have been combined without offending the laws of armorial marshalling.

Arms : Party per pale argent and sable, two bars per pale gules and argent, in chief three pierced cinquefoils ermine. Crest : A beaver proper, charged with two mullets of five points in pale or.

Motto : Persevere. (Plate 3, Fig. 3.)

These were granted in 1936. The beaver, which is retained from the previous design, represents Denton's famous hat-making activities.

Urmston obtained a grant of arms on 10th June, 1942. The application was a direct result of the adoption of H.M.S. *Express* by the town in the "Warship Week" held earlier in the year. All over the country, towns and their adopted ships were exchanging tokens which usually took the form of plaques decorated with the towns' arms and the ships' badges. Unfortunately, many towns had no armorial bearings, and were content to let their ships accept expensive plaques decorated with spurious devices which, in some cases, present a lamentable display of heraldic solecisms which were better left in the Council Chamber than paraded round the world. However, *Urmston* is one of three Urban Districts—the others being *Brierley Hill* (Staffs.) and *Knottingley* (Yorks.)—which were public-spirited enough to obtain a genuine coat-of-arms for this occasion.

Arms : Party per chevron azure and barry wavy argent and azure, on a chevron ermine between in chief a griffin and an oak-tree eradicated or and in base a bezant charged with an anvil sable, a rose of Lancaster between two martlets or. Crest : A squirrel sejant proper, holding a balance or.

Motto : *Salus populi suprema est lex.* (Plate 3, Fig. 4.)

The griffin is that of the *Traffords*, who bore it gules on argent. Richard de *Trafford* had the whole Lordship of *Trafford* granted to him by *Hamo de Masci* and his daughter *Margery*, widow of *Roger Payne* of *Ashbourne*, c. 1200. In the time of King John, he divided his lands between his sons, *Henry* and *Geoffrey*. *Henry*, the elder son, inherited *Trafford*, *Stretford* and all his father's lands in *Manchester*.

The chevron was suggested by the arms of the *Hydes* and

Ashawes. Ralph de Hyde, who was living in 1357, had Urmston in right of his wife, who was daughter and heiress of Adam de Ormeston, from whose arms the squirrel in the crest was taken. Lawrence Ashawe had Shawe Hall in Flixton in right of his wife, Jane Valentine, who died *sine prole* in about 1558. He bequeathed his estates to his nephew Leonard Ashawe, who was buried at Flixton in 1594. The Valentines held lands in Flixton as early as the reign of Edward II, as is shown by the survey of the manor and barony of Manchester in 1320. The martlets are also taken from the Ashawe arms. The oak tree stands for the preservation of the rural aspect of the district, though one must hope that, being shown uprooted, it does not presage the opposite. An elm would have supplied a punning charge upon the name, though the oak is of course more well known as an English tree. The industries of Urmston are obviously symbolised in the base, the waves representing the Mersey and the Ship Canal. The squirrel holds the scales, the emblem of St. Michael, to whom the parish is dedicated. The motto has already been noticed as that of Swinton and Pendlebury (*q.v.*).

One often hears sad forecasts that heraldry will have no further place in modern life as time goes on. Usually this opinion accompanies the theory that the aristocracy, or at any rate, the distinction between social strata, will shortly disappear, as if the aristocracy were the only people who bear arms. Whatever the result in the case of personal heraldry—and judging from the increasing popularity of personal grants of arms since the same forebodings were voiced during the last war, one wonders whether there will be any adverse effect at all—there is little doubt that as long as corporations, whether municipal or otherwise, are required to have a common seal, there will be grants of arms. To those who argue that heraldry is a thing of the past and has no place in modern commercial life, there is the inescapable fact that during the period from the end of the last war to the present day—a mere quarter-century or so—over six hundred grants of arms have been issued to corporate bodies of all kinds—civic, scholastic, commercial and others—by the College of Arms, Lyon Office and Ulster's Office. The significant point is not the number of grants only, but the fact that they easily outnumber such grants made in all the previous centuries of heraldic administration.

STUDIES IN THE PETITION OF PETEËSI.

By G. A. WAINWRIGHT.

PETEËSI'S petition forms the subject of Papyrus No. IX of Griffith's *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, III, pp. 60-112, and the references in the following study are to those pages.¹

As it stands the story is most involved and difficult of comprehension. It will, therefore, simplify matters to set out at the beginning the tale which Peteësi III is trying to tell us. What appears to be his story is told in the next paragraphs stripped of all the verbiage and irrelevancies, whether mere details or even whole stories, with which it is encumbered to the bewilderment of the reader.

Peteësi I had found the derelict temple of Teuzoi, the modern El Hîbah on the east bank of the Nile opposite Fashn in Middle Egypt. With the help of his first cousin, another Peteësi, the local Governor, he had taken advantage of the new decree of Psametik I, and had reconstituted the temple with its estates, income, personnel, ornaments, etc. He had got himself appointed prophet there, and had extorted not only the four stipends belonging to that office, but sixteen more. In this way he had appropriated to himself one-fifth of all the temple revenues, see p. 235, *infra*. His arrangements worked well for some twenty-seven years from the fourth year of Psametik I, 660 B.C., when the temple was re-established, p. 78.

Then, in the thirty-first year of this king, 633 B.C., the animosity of the priests broke out against Peteësi I. They refused to let his agent collect his dues for him and murdered the agent's two sons, who were also Peteësi's grandsons, pp. 86, 87. Peteësi hurried to Teuzoi from Thebes, whither he had retired, and so arranged things that for some forty-five years more he and his son and grandson after him continued to receive one-fifth

¹ Capart has published a popular French adaptation of this work entitled *Un roman vécu il y a xxv siècles*, Brussels, 1914. A page or two of précis is added at the end.

of the temple revenues as before, and the priests dared do nothing, but had to submit to the family's extortions.

Then, about 590 B.C. the priests saw a chance and took it. They persuaded Peteêsi II, who then held the prophetship, to represent their temple in Pharaoh's retinue on his expedition to Syria. It was foolish of him to fall into the trap, for the family had by that time lost the local Governorship, and so were no longer protected in high quarters. Moreover, he only held the office by the custom of inheritance, and had never been officially confirmed in it. During his absence the priests went to the new local Governor, who was not a member of the Peteêsi family,¹ and pointed out to him his rights as to the prophetship. He immediately dispossessed the holder and installed his own son, pp. 96, 97. Thus, at last the priests had gained their point and had recovered the sixteen shares that had been squeezed from them, for the son had only been given the four shares belonging to the prophetship. This son held the office for the rest of his lifetime and passed it on to his son, p. 101.

Thirty-five years later, about 555 B.C., p. 98, the son of the Peteêsi (II) who had lost the prophetship, and who himself had never enjoyed it, had to flee secretly from the priests, when they wanted him to sign away any rights he might still possess, p. 102. Up to this time it seems that the priests had been the aggrieved party, but from now onwards they seem to have become the unprovoked aggressors. Probably by this time there had been so much ill-will and quarrelling between the two parties, that the priests were thankful for any opportunity of injuring the Peteêsi family. They were the better able to do this, for they were now definitely in the ascendancy and they evidently hoped utterly to wipe out the memory of their ancient opponents. Anyhow, when the family fled they plundered its house in the town and pulled it down and its temple-place as well;² they defaced one of the original tablets recording the founder's benefactions of one hundred years earlier; they tried to deface the

¹ As indicated by the different set of names used by his family, Haruoz, Ptaħnûfi, and Nekumosi, instead of Peteêsi and Essemteu; also by his action in dispossessing the Peteêsi family.

² The original document granting this temple-place will be found on pp. 47-49.

other, but could not because it was of granite; finally, they threw the two statues of the founder into the river, pp. 102, 103. They finally agreed to pay compensation for the damage they had done to the house, which was rebuilt, but the temple-place was left in ruins, p. 105.

The family had now sunk from the height of power and influence to a position of extreme unimportance,¹ and had not enjoyed the office of prophet for seventy-eight years, but still the priests would not leave it alone. In 512 B.C., forty-three years after having driven out the family and destroyed their house and monuments, the priests made another opportunity against them. An important official came to Teuzoi to enquire why his stipend had not been sent as usual. The priests pleaded poverty, and added that, if he wanted to know anything about the reason, he had better apply to Peteêsi III, p. 66.² This information Peteêsi dared not give except finally under torture, and then his revelations resulted in the imprisonment of himself and his male relatives. Also, for the sake of decency and impartiality, it resulted in the dismissal and in the imprisonment for a short time of the *le-shoni* who represented the priests. As soon as the *le-shoni* had been allowed to escape, his successor, who is likely to have been of the same family,³ and the priests

¹ Peteêsi III began life in exile in no better position than an assistant clerk in the Treasury, p. 103. At the end of his life, back at Teuzoi, he is described as only 'that scribe of the temple' and as being 'not a man (of weight)', p. 66.

² The cause of this is not given. In note 3 Griffith makes one suggestion. Another, and this seems the more probable to me, might be the sarcasm usual in these cases. It suggests that the victim is not the victim, but the cause, of it all. It puts him into the position of attacker, and gives the other side later on the excuse of taking vengeance on him for his 'attack' on them, as indeed Peteêsi feared and his interlocutor readily appreciated, and as the priests actually did, p. 67. It also implies 'We are so utterly in the right that we are not afraid to recommend you to him, though we know only too well the "lies" the evil-natured rogue will tell about us.' At the same time the priests would controvert each statement as he made it, and overwhelm him with all sorts of counter-accusations. It also saves them from making a statement. To do so would be undesirable, if for no other reason than that something might always slip out, which would be better kept quiet until forced out. See further, pp. 248, 249, *infra*.

³ Posts are likely to be kept in the one family, and the new man's name, Ienharöü, is the same as that of his predecessor's father. This man may, therefore, have been the new *le-shoni*'s grandfather, so that the new *le-shoni* may have been nephew to the old one. Anyhow, the new *le-shoni* takes his predecessor's part very strongly.

broke into the prison and practically murdered the Peteêsi prisoners, p. 67. They had intended to do so entirely, but were finally persuaded from going to that extreme. Peteêsi III was unconscious for four days, and was under medical treatment for three months. He then escaped by night to Memphis, p. 68, where for seven months friends of the priests prevented his getting an audience, and then prevented his obtaining satisfaction, p. 69. On his way home he heard that the priests had this time burned down his house. On this occasion he got no redress beyond a flogging for the *le-shoni* and a vague promise that the priests should right him in everything. As might be expected, the last we hear of him is his piteous remark, 'But I was not (truly) righted; (nay) I was taking people to them to cause them to be reconciled to me', p. 70. Such I gather is Peteêsi's story.

As a legal document Peteêsi III's petition is deplorable, but as a picture of life in a village or small country town 2500 years ago it is beyond price. The majority of it is utterly irrelevant to the purpose for which it was drawn up. This purpose was to obtain redress for the petitioner for damage done to him by the priests in 512 B.C.

He does not merely say, as he should, that they did this and that to me, the reason being that I had been forced into telling of their misdeeds. Instead, he indulges in this immensely long history from its beginning, one hundred and fifty years before. Even this is not enough. He works in, and elaborates in the fullest detail, all sorts of stories which can have no conceivable bearing on the case which is up for judgment, except on some occasions a general blackening of the priests' character. It is a failing that is still all too common in Egypt to-day.

Thus, he finds occasion to mention the murder of Peteêsi I's two grandsons. This should have taken no more than a single line of print. But no, he gives the complete story of how Peteêsi I had happened to meet the man who was to become his son-in-law, who the man was, and how he promised to establish his identity, how he asked for the hand of Peteêsi I's daughter, the discussions that ensued, and the consideration shown by the future father-in-law to the future son-in-law, pp. 82, 83, and how,

finally, the suitor brought his papers establishing his identity, and was at last given his bride, p. 84—all this occupying twenty-five lines of print. Then, when Peteêsi I was going to detail the duties of his son-in-law whom he was leaving as his agent, we are told that they spent the day drinking beer at the son-in-law's house. This occupies three long lines of print to no purpose whatever, and never ought to have been mentioned at all. Then in eleven more long lines of print we are told of the grief of the daughter when she was left behind at Teuzoi with her husband, how she was comforted by her kind father with the gifts of the house and a priesthood, how her father took the rest of the family up to Thebes, and how he settled them there in his ancestral house, p. 84. All this is introductory to the murder of the two grandsons, and in this wilderness of detail the perhaps somewhat less unimportant point that they were ever born gets forgotten. Suddenly we find that some sixteen years later there are two fine boys who were acting as agents for their father, who himself was agent for their grandfather, and that they got murdered, pp. 86, 87.

Then Peteêsi III indulges in long glorifications of Peteêsi I in his capacity as Government servant: how under him Upper Egypt was exceedingly prosperous, and how he was a man whom Pharaoh delighted to honour, and how he became priest of a large number of gods other than Amûn of Teuzoi. This occupies twelve long lines of print on p. 83. Even this did not do justice to Peteêsi I's virtues. On pp. 84-86 we read in forty-four more long lines of print how he had become Pharaoh's right-hand man, how he got his first cousin once removed appointed as the new Master of the Shipping, how they buried the old one who had just died, how the country prospered under his administration, how Pharaoh wanted to load him with rewards—all of which he magnanimously declined, only desiring the privilege of a well-earned peace in his old age. It is hard to see how any of this has any bearing on the facts that more than one hundred and thirty years later Teuzoi had been ruined, and the priests had had his great-great-grandson, Peteêsi III, imprisoned, had nearly murdered him and his family, and had finally burned down his house.

Another of these rambling stories is recorded with infinite detail in the document. The story itself does not even touch on the family affairs, and we should never have heard of it, but for one of its after affects. The priests had given away the prophetship as a payment for services rendered, and the recipient thought it would be well to have the signature of the then head of the Peteësi family. This he refused and fled, and it is only after this that the story comes to concern our case. It was brought about by the priests taking the opportunity of destroying the Peteësi house and practically all evidence of Peteësi I's benefactions to the temple. The facts relevant to Peteësi III's lawsuit occupy fifteen lines of print, pp. 102, 103, whereas the completely irrelevant story leading up to them occupies ninety-four lines of print, pp. 99-102, and ought to have been condensed into a couple of sentences, such as 'A newly appointed prophet needed Essemteu's signature to his title. This Essemteu refused to give, and fled, when the priests etc., etc.'

After these gigantic irrelevancies it is bathos to point out a few of such unnecessary details as the following with which the reader's attention is diverted from the essentials of the story. Peteësi says that on arrival at the island they 'moored at its extremity', p. 100. Similarly, we are told that they came 'in two ships', which is quite unnecessary, p. 104, and when Peteësi III wants to tell us that he rebuilt his house he has to say that he 'caused bricks to be moulded', p. 105. The modern petitioner still confuses his hearer with a wealth of such details, each of which has to be kept in mind, because for all he knows it may later on prove to have some bearing on the case.

And so it goes on, wearisomely, unendingly, and all expressed with the utmost diffuseness. Much more prolixity could be pointed out, but it could only weary the reader as much as the writer, and the foregoing are outstanding examples of how the petitioner becomes 'intoxicated with the exuberance of his own verbosity'. The Governor has our sympathy when he said to Peteësi III, 'These events that you are telling are many'—please go away and submit it all in writing, p. 69. Everyone has been plagued in Egypt with these endless stories which have no particular purpose, but are a recitation of all the woes to

which the narrator is a victim, how undeserved they are, and how excellent a person he is. The hope is partly no doubt to create a sympathetic atmosphere. But I think it is more than that, and is the result of the photographic memory which unrolls before the narrator's mind a picture of the story detail by detail, each one leading on to the next. That is what he sees and knows, and he wants his troubles put right for him. He has never trained himself to see a point in his life, and is utterly incapable of picking out the essentials. That is for the hearer to do. He has been overwhelmed with the whole grievous rambling story concerning people of whom he has never heard and whose names are only too commonly the same, and places, conditions, and things of which he has no knowledge. When at last it comes more or less to an end the trustful finale is *wa dilwaqte sa'ādtak 'ārif kull el hikāyah, wa 'ārif yafraḍ el haḳīkah*, 'And now your Excellency knows all the story, and will be able to distinguish the truth'. Unfortunate *sa'ādtuh!* and to give satisfaction the truth must be in favour of the speaker. If the judge has trained himself no better than the petitioner to pick out the essentials of the story, we can imagine the chaos that ensues.

The Governor of course had innumerable other rambling stories of the same sort waiting to be unravelled. We can appreciate the sigh of relief with which he must have welcomed his courtier's suggestion that as some punishment had been inflicted on the priests, 'their affair is a failure here: let the Governor dismiss them', p. 68. It was a similar state of affairs at Corinth which made Gallio take the stronger line, when 'he drave them from the judgment seat'. True, it was of little use, for it only resulted in the beating of Sosthenes before the judgment seat, but still, 'Gallio cared for none of those things' (Acts, xviii, 16, 17), and so he at least was left in comparative peace from an affair which passed comprehension.

Maddening as this long, rambling, mostly irrelevant, story must have been to the judge, it is of the greatest interest to us who are students of life in ancient Egypt. The document is the result of a long feud between the Peteêsi family and the priests, and we have to discover for ourselves the original cause, and

even what Peteêsi III wanted, for he does not make any definite statement about either of them.

It is only parenthetically in his indignation at having been sold that we happen to hear that he wanted the Governor to 'prevent my ever being driven (?) from my city again', p. 69. Probably he also vaguely hoped that, if the Governor's pity were sufficiently moved, he might restore to him the prophetship which the family had originally held. But he leaves the judge, and us, to discover all that for ourselves.

One of the original causes, I think, is self-evident, and another can be dimly seen. In the beginning it seems to me that Peteêsi I was definitely in the wrong and the priests were the injured party. But by the end the feud had grown to such proportions that the original cause was probably almost forgotten, and the priests had definitely become the aggressors.

The quarrel originated in and revolved round the prophetship of Amûn at Teuzoi, and, to begin with, the amount of stipend the prophet was entitled to. There is plenty of evidence that the priests had no objection to having a prophet of Amûn. After they had got rid of the Peteêsi family they lived happily under Ptaĥnûfi, p. 97, and for some time under Nekumosi, his son, p. 101, and again for some time under a certain Psammetk-menempe, p. 101, and finally under a man named Pshenah, p. 105, until the Governor, the Persian Satrap (?), himself took the prophetship, p. 65. Their quarrel originated with the restorer of their temple, Peteêsi I, and here we must note the fact that he and his son and his grandson were taking the fifth part of the temple revenues. It is emphasized on many occasions. On appointing his son-in-law as his agent in Teuzoi Peteêsi I says, 'But thou art he that shall perform service to Amûn and his Ennead of deities, and the fifth part of the endowment revenues of Amûn shall be given to thee', p. 84. What caused the priests to murder Peteêsi I's two grandsons was their demand, 'Let the fifth part be measured', pp. 86, 87. Again, it is emphasized, 'And Essemteu (I) son of Peteêsi dwelt in Teuzoi doing service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods, and the fifth part of the divine endowment of Amûn was given to him', and it is repeated that he enjoyed this all his life, p. 92. Of his son

also, until the priests got him superseded, it is said, 'and Peteêsi son of Essemteu, his son, succeeded him. He performed service to Amûn and his Ennead of gods, and the fifth part of the divine endowment of Amûn was given to him likewise', p. 92.

The priests endured this imposition for twenty-seven years, and then refused to deliver the stipends any longer and murdered his agents, his two grandsons, when they demanded them. They said, 'Shall he still take the fifth of the divine endowment? this outcast (?) of a southerner is in our power (?)', p. 86. Here the reason of the quarrel is clearly stated. It was solely and only over the amount of the revenue that he was taking from the temple.

We are told quite clearly how this fifth part, that the priests objected to, was made up. In re-establishing his position with the priests Peteêsi I said, 'I have stipend of (?) four in the name of the share of the prophet of Amûn,¹ and I have besides sixteen stipends in the name of the gods to whom I have been prophet, making in all twenty stipends', p. 90.² In reporting his own situation Peteêsi III says again, 'The share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi used to (belong to) my father, together with another share of the prophet of sixteen of the gods of Teuzoi, so that they gave him sixteen stipends in their name', p. 69.

When at last the priests were able to supplant the Peteêsi family as prophets of Amûn, we find that the arrangement was that for the new incumbent 'they wrote the title for him to the share of the prophet of Amûn. The priests took the other sixteen shares and divided them between the orders: they amounted to four shares to each order', p. 69, and in repeating the story almost identically the same words are used on p. 97. Yet again the statement as to how these arrangements were working under the new incumbent runs, 'The priests did not give stipend for the sixteen shares which the priests had divided to the orders, . . . and stipend of four was given to Ptaḥnûfi (the new prophet) in the name of the share of the prophet of Amûn', p. 98.

¹ This was the usual share of the prophet of the chief god of a sanctuary. Peteêsi I quotes other cases, saying 'Four stipends is that which is given to the prophet of Hôr, lord of Hnês, and the prophet of Anûp, lord of Hartai', p. 90.

² Twenty being the fifth of the hundred stipends into which the temple revenues were clearly divided, as Griffith says, p. 84, n. 4, p. 90, n. 5.

Thus, it was not the four shares, the stipend of the prophet, that the priests were worrying about, but the excessive squeeze by which Peteêsi I had taken those extra sixteen shares from them. Now at last, after some seventy years, they had got them back again for themselves, and distributed them to their lawful owners,¹ and the new prophet was reduced to his rightful position of prophet of Amûn only and not prophet of Amûn and his Ennead of gods. Amûn's song might just as well have been directed against Peteêsi I as against the priests against whom it was made to apply. Peteêsi III got him to sing 'they are as just men in their own hearts: but they have walked with crime in their bosoms. They have oppressed the weak in the presence of the strong.² They have done thine abominations which thou hatest . . . they took thy divine endowment', p. 112. Though Amûn's further remark, 'The robber doth not enjoy his robbery, the oppressor (?) doth not prevent a protector', p. 112, did not apply in the case of the robber himself, Peteêsi I, it certainly did as regards his descendants. Such well-known maxims as the following apply very forcibly to the Peteêsi family, 'the mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small', 'the sins of the fathers shall [be visited] upon the children unto the third and fourth generation'; 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge', or, as Amûn seems to have put it, 'the proofs (?) of evil men are in the bellies (?) of their children', p. 110.

By this time there may have been yet another reason which would have made the priests still more anxious to be rid of the Peteêsi family. It had now lost the local Governorship, so that the prophet was no longer able to get so much protection for the priests in their shady transactions, and of this they had great

¹ Besides taking so much of the temple endowment for himself, Peteêsi I had also given his daughter the emoluments of the prophetship of Khonsu as a dowry, p. 84. As Griffith says, presumably her husband performed the duties for her. Her brother, Essemteu I, had also purchased for himself three minor offices in the temple, pp. 44 ff.

² Still far too common a fault to-day. For instance, there was some question about land between the village and a family whose name meant something like 'oppressor, grinder'. To my reproachful question, 'How did you get so terrible a name?' there came the unblushing reply in the midst of the assembled villagers, 'Because we oppress the poor'!

need. It comes out clearly later on. They had been found out in appropriating double the amount of land they were entitled to. They asked their then prophet, Nekumosi, 'Art thou able to protect us? If not, behold, when we went to a (certain) magnate he said to us, "Write me a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn that I may protect you in every affair of yours".' Nekumosi was not able to protect them, and they immediately took away the prophetship from him and gave it to the man who was, p. 101. By so doing they not only got help, though largely unavailing, in this transaction, but also when they had destroyed the Peteêsi house, temple-place, and monuments, pp. 104, 105.

We now have to consider the means by which Peteêsi I set up this claim to one-fifth of the temple endowment, and it will be seen that the family had stretched a point in its own favour. As will be seen later on, they had found this derelict temple at Teuzoi and had seen a chance of establishing themselves as beneficiaries there. On hearing about it from his cousin, Peteêsi I, the Master of the Shipping in Hnês had said to him, 'Thou knowest the fact that the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi *and his Ennead of deities*¹ belongeth unto me, and since thou hast chosen it as a dwelling I will write a title for thee to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi *and his Ennead of deities*. And the Master of the Shipping caused a school-scribe to be fetched, and wrote a title for him to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi *and his Ennead of deities*', p. 82.

It is a clear, straightforward statement, but a study of the rights of the local Governor shows that the Master of the Shipping had overstepped his rights by including 'and his Ennead of deities', that is to say by including those sixteen stipends that were to cause all the trouble. All that he had a right to was 'the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi'; in other words, the four stipends to which the priests took no exception. This is made abundantly clear in a number of statements, and also the fact that he exercised this right only as representative of Pharaoh, to whom the office belonged in law. Thus, we find that the priests pointed out to the new Governor in Hnês, 'The share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi is a share belonging to

¹ The italics are mine.

Per'o', p. 69. Peteêsi II also states that 'This share which Ptaḥnûfi hath taken, his father being Master in Hnês, is Per'o's share', p. 97. Under the Persian kings the Satrap (?), who was filling the position of Pharaoh, secured the prerogatives of Pharaoh to himself. In fact he went one better, and seems to have kept the prophetship for himself instead of presenting it to someone else, p. 65. In the ordinary way Pharaoh did not make the appointments himself in a small temple like that of Teuzoi, but delegated his powers to the local Governor. Thus, the priests said, 'Doth his Honour know the fact that the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi is Per'o's share, and it belongeth to his Honour?' , p. 96.¹

Thus, it is clear that the Master of the Shipping in Hnês had seriously exceeded his rights in claiming the prophetship of the Ennead of deities as well as that of Amûn as part of the patronage which he was entitled to dispense.

Here we can go a step further in understanding the document. The prophetship being in Pharaoh's own gift he naturally had it in his power to override a gift made by his representative, the local Governor, if he could be induced to prefer some other claimant. This was Peteêsi II's hope when he found that the new local Governor had superseded him by his own nominee. Peteêsi II went up to Court to see Pharaoh, p. 97, hoping of course to get him to appoint him personally. Up to that time he had only held the office by succession, and unlike his father had never got himself appointed officially. The action of the priests and the local Governor shows how precarious was such a position. But Pharaoh was on his death-bed and could do nothing. Peteêsi then tried the law-courts, but naturally he had no legal, but only customary, standing and so he 'was worsted in the House of Judgement', p. 97. He and his relatives then

¹ Though when they want to be rid of his grandson they go back on this, and say that they wrote the title when his grandfather 'was ruler of Hnês; though it is not a share that belonged to him', p. 101. As the grandfather was only called the 'ruler of Hnês' possibly his rank was not sufficiently high to confer upon him the right to appoint the prophet on behalf of Pharaoh, but the priests stretched a point in making him believe that he had that right. Something of this sort is also suggested by the way in which the grandson, Nekumosi, gave up his emoluments, when asked, without a struggle. But see further, p. 101, n. 3.

proposed to try bribery, but were persuaded from such a course, p. 98. This was not from any sense of honesty, but merely on the ground that 'thy adversary in speech is richer than thou. If there be a hundred pieces of silver in thy hand, he will defeat thee', p. 98.

The legal position seems perfectly clear. Like other priestly offices, that of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi was in the gift of Pharaoh himself,¹ though this gift was often bestowed through the local Governor. To what has already been seen may be added the fact that Peteêsi I's claim to the prophetship was only valid from the moment he had received his title in writing from the local Governor, p. 103.

However, custom did not always correspond with the law, and families, as would be natural, were in the habit of retaining offices in their possession as long as they were strong enough to keep them. This had evidently always been so. For right back in the early Old Kingdom most of Neferma'at's priesthoods descended to his son *Hm-i'wnw*.² Similarly, in the Twelfth Dynasty Sehetepibre'-'ankhnedjem passed on his high priesthood of Ptah to his son Nebpu,³ as at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty Ptahmosy⁴ did to his son Paḥemneter.⁵ Again in the Nineteenth Dynasty Nebunenef had inherited his high priesthood of Hathor at Denderah from his father, and Rameses II confirmed Nebunenef's son in the succession.⁶ At Thebes the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties and

¹ All through the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties the Pharaohs appointed whom they would to be high priests (first prophets) of Amûn at Thebes. Rameses II even brought Nebunenef from Denderah, where he had been high priest of Hathor, Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, pp. 26, 27 and *passim*. For Nebunenef see further, pp. 118-122. In those days the Pharaoh's writ ran even to the smaller clergy, for Amenhotep III, having preferred Nebnefer to the high priesthood, proceeded to appoint Huy to the post thus left vacant of 'chief measurer of the granary of the offerings of Amûn', *id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 98. But at Teuzoi in the seventh century B.C. minor offices in the temple were baldly bought and sold, Griffith, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.

² Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 151.

³ Boreux, *Guide-catalogue sommaire* (Louvre), p. 52, A 47.

⁴ Schiaparelli, *Mus. Arch. di Firenze : Antichità Egizie*, I (1887), pp. 197-206, No. 1505 (1790). The statue was made for him by his son Paḥemneter, p. 200.

⁵ Boreux, *op. cit.*, p. 55, A 72, and Piehl, *Inscc. hiérog.*, I, No. xvi B.

⁶ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 248.

Rameses III had at their own pleasure appointed men to the high priesthood of Amûn of Karnak, and these men had sometimes not even belonged to the service of that god.¹ But, as soon as the central power began to weaken under Rameses IV, the high priest Ramesesnekht made the office for the first time a family affair to be transmitted from father to son.² When at last the high priests ascended the throne as the Twenty-first Dynasty they made this custom the regular thing. As each became king he appointed his son to the high priesthood. The kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty did likewise. Though after this the office was suppressed, the system was continued in that of the divine adoratrices during the Twenty-third Dynasty, the Ethiopian period, and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. In these cases the daughter to be adopted by these virgin priestesses was provided by the king.³ So, at the end the two customs, that of appointment by the sovereign and that of inheritance, were amalgamated through the Pharaoh appointing his own son, or at last his own daughter. The Persian Satrap (?) finding this state of affairs in existence seems to have improved on it by appointing himself, at least at Teuzoi, see p. 235, *supra*. Returning to Teuzoi we find that the system of inheritance was in vogue there. It will be seen immediately how the Peteësi family had originally claimed the prophetship of Amûn on the strength of its having been held, as they claimed, by their ancestors. They had then managed to keep it till the third generation. Similarly, the next family held it for two generations, Ptahnûfi passing it on to his son Nekumosi, pp. 97, 101.

This custom of inheritance constituted some definite claim on the office, even though not a strong one. Essemteu II preferred flight from his town to signing away the family's claim, p. 102, though it seems strange that he was not prepared to accept a *douceur* for signing away something that he had never enjoyed. On his appointment to the prophetship Psammetkmenempe was advised that to be perfectly secure in his tenure he needed not only a document from the previous holder resigning his claim to him, but even documents from the earlier holders, the Peteësi

¹ Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 and *passim*.

² *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 219, 220.

family, who had not enjoyed it for thirty-five years, p. 102. He had taken legal opinion on his position. That opinion was 'It is invalidated, because of the fact that these priests will say to thee, "Had this share no owner?" Its owner can come to thee another time and say, "It is mine", and he will be justified against thee', p. 102. But this view is clearly the standard type of legal opinion, which seeks to guard against even the remotest possibility of trouble, for we have just seen how Peteêsi II, relying on such a claim, 'was worsted in the House of Judgement', p. 97. On pp. 44-47 we have an example of the kind of document which had been given to Psammetkmenempe, and of which he required Esseteu's ratification.

It was the custom of inheritance that Peteêsi I invoked at the very beginning as the reason why he should be appointed to the prophetship. He said that he was told at the temple, 'No man was priest here except the priests of Amenra'sentêr; but your ancestors were priests here', p. 80. He immediately went back to Hnês and reported this to his cousin, the local Governor. They then started restoring the fortunes of the temple, and the local Governor exercised his undoubted right, and installed his cousin, Peteêsi I.

The custom of the son having a lien on the priesthoods of his father, or at least being given a preference when priests were being appointed, was not confined to the prophetship. Peteêsi I claims a number of priesthoods that had been held by his father, and letters of authorization were issued 'to the temples of which Peteêsi son of Ieturoü shall say, "My father was priest in them", saying, "Let Peteêsi be priest in them, if it were fitting"', p. 83.¹ In the same way Peteêsi I's son-in-law, Haruoz, proved that his father had been a priest at Teuzoi, and so he was made one also, pp. 83, 84.

In any case the tenure of the prophetship was precarious, for the right of patronage passed from local Governor to local Governor, as one died, or was transferred, or retired. To be secure the title to the prophetship ought really to be renewed to

¹ They were priesthoods of Amon-re' at Thebes, and elsewhere of Harshefi, of Sobk, of Osiris of Abydos, of Anhûret of Thinis, and of Min. Griffith points out that these were 'priesthoods' not 'prophetships', but clearly the system was the same.

the holder himself by the new local Governor, or better still by Pharaoh himself, as Peteêsi II hoped for. For the local Governor had it in his power to appoint his own nominee, and, as we see in the case of Peteêsi II, he did not feel it necessary to wait for the holder's death before installing his own man, pp. 96, 97. Peteêsi II's father, Essemteu I, had taken the precaution of having his tenure renewed when his father had handed on the prophetship to him, p. 92.

But no doubt as long as a prophet's family held the local Governorship he was quite safe. The danger came when the family lost the local Governorship, for the new family would want as many lucrative posts as it could get. The art is to get as many of your own protégés as possible into key positions, then the holders of the high offices of state are all interlocked and play into each other's hands; *mutshabâqîn ma' ba'dhum*, 'all netted together', is the modern phrase for this state of affairs. In Psametik I's reign the Peteêsi family had secured the positions of Master of the Shipping, and under him the inspectorship of all Upper Egypt, and also the prophetship of Amûn at Teuzoi. Peteêsi I had also made his children priests of Amûn of Teuzoi, p. 81 and n. 8, including his daughter, p. 84, and his son, Essemteu I, had bought for himself three minor offices in the temple, pp. 44-47. The office of the Master of the Shipping was retained by the son of the first holder, and he also extended his protection to the holder of the prophetship. In due time the prophetship was assumed by the son of the first holder, and then by the grandson, p. 92. But by this time the Peteêsi family had lost the local Governorship, and the loss of the prophetship was not long delayed. As we have seen, Peteêsi II was supplanted by Ptaĥnûfi, son of the new local Governor.

We have seen what the law was, and that it was the custom of families to keep possession of the prophetship as long as possible. But there was evidently yet another custom which came into play in the appointment to priestly offices. The priests themselves were evidently consulted, at least at times,¹ as to the

¹ Though a powerful king like Amenhotep III did not ask whether an appointment would be fitting or not, but merely issued his instructions to the conclave of priests, and they had to instal his nominee, Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, II, §§ 929-931. No doubt as the central authority weakened the priests' wishes came to

acceptability of a candidate. This appears in the letters of authorization which were issued to the temples by Pharaoh for Peteêsi I to be appointed to various other priesthoods that his father had held before him. The wording ran, 'Let Peteêsi be priest in them, *if it were fitting*', p. 83. Consonant with this is the action of the priests at Teuzoi when they themselves gave away five stipends, p. 68. Much the same evidently held good for the appointment of the prophet at Teuzoi, for when the local Governor appointed his son, Ptaḥnûfi, the appointee had to come to Teuzoi for the priests to write him his title, p. 97.¹

This desirability of getting the priests' approval of an appointment probably goes far to account for their ability towards the end of the story to write the share of the prophet to anyone they pleased. Moreover, the curious variation in the titles of the Governors² towards the end suggests that by that time there may have been no one of sufficient standing to exercise the prerogative of patronage in Pharaoh's name. It seems that the priests then appointed and dismissed prophets just as it suited their own convenience, without any reference to the local Governor or to Pharaoh. Thus, when they wanted to be rid of Nekumosi they told him, 'For thou knowest the fact that we were they who wrote thy father Ptaḥnûfi son of Harouz a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn', p. 101. Then the priests 'wrote a title to the share of the prophet of Amûn to Psammetkmenempe', p. 101. Later on, when they were tired of this prophet, or perhaps at his death, 'They (the priests) went to Pshenah . . . and wrote him the title to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi', p. 105. After that the Satrap seems to have been appointed himself, p. 65.

play an ever more important part in the appointment of their colleagues, until at last Peteêsi shows us how the priests themselves appointed and dismissed men without even referring to Pharaoh or his representative; see next section.

¹ For a description of the ceremony under Amenhotep III, see Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, II, §§ 929-931.

² They are no longer called the Master of the Shipping, but 'a priest of Sobk, who was ruler of Hnês', p. 96, also called 'master in Hnês', p. 97. The expression 'ruler in Hnês' is applied to Peteêsi son of Ieturoû, p. 96, which must be intended for his cousin Peteêsi son of 'Ankhsheshonk, who was Master of the Shipping. The title 'ruler in Hnês' or 'of Hnês' thus refers to the local Governor. Later there was a 'prince of Hnês', p. 104. The last man in authority there of whom we hear is called 'the (Sheikh) of Hnês', p. 104.

Teuzoi was founded in the Twenty-first Dynasty by Menkheperre' and Istemkheb, c. 1074-1025 B.C. In the Twenty-second Dynasty Sheshonk I, 952-930 B.C., and Osorkon I, 930-894 B.C., had embellished the temple.¹ Some time afterwards had come the three generations of utter confusion under the princelings, then the Ethiopian Dominion, and, finally, the Assyrian invasions ending in the sack of Thebes and the governance of the country by princes subject to Assyria.

In these disorganized times the various rulers had turned for their finances to the vast resources of the temples. Hitherto of course these, including the accumulated riches, their incomes, their lands, and their serfs and other personnel, had been exempt from any claims whatever by the Crown. We are told that 'the manner in which this town hath been destroyed' was that 'When that evil time came the great fanes of Kêmi were made to pay taxes, and this town was burdened with heavy taxes: the people could not pay the taxes with which they were burdened, and they departed away. And behold, though discharge hath been made unto the great fanes of Kêmi, they come to us, saying, "Produce (your) taxes" until now', p. 80. Thus, the taxation of the temple is said to have been the cause of the depopulation of the town and the emptying of the temple of its priests except one aged one and a (shrine)-opener, p. 79.

At first the connexion is not easy to see. The sending away to Pharaoh out of the town of a proportion of its income could not have impoverished the place, for much income was regularly sent away each year to absentee beneficiaries, pp. 65, 68, 86, 101, 105.² The mere fact that the absentee it went to was Pharaoh and not someone who held an office in the temple could have made no difference. The explanation must be sought elsewhere, and no doubt is as follows:

When the tax-gatherers came to the temple, we may be sure the priests refused to deliver up a single handful of corn from their income. The tax-gatherers had to get their taxes, and so they had to go to the source whence the temple drew its income

¹ Pp. 40, 42. For a study of the reasons for founding the city see Wainwright, *Ann. Serv.*, XXVII, pp. 78-93, 103, 104.

² As indeed was done by other temples, pp. 78, 83.

—the fellaheen who cultivated its fields. From them, no doubt, they extorted what was necessary, but in the meanwhile the temple would not recognize this and would not abate one fraction of its rents. We may be sure that it extracted them to the uttermost farthing.¹ So, although the old priest makes a sad tale about the heavy taxation of the temples, yet in the beginning it was not the temple that suffered but only the patient oxen, its serfs, the fellaheen as usual. But these double charges meant that there was not enough left for the fellaheen to live on, and so they did the only thing possible to them, and 'they departed away'.² This would have gone on progressively, until at last there would have been no one left to till the fields whence came the priests' income. Thus, it would have been the priests themselves who had ruined their own temple, town, and estates.

Then came the reorganization of the country by Psametik I about 660 B.C., and the country's prosperity increased by leaps and bounds, pp. 78, 79. This enabled him once more to relieve the temples—in actuality no doubt the fellaheen—of taxation, p. 80. But of course it is impossible to carry on for long the affairs of a country of which a great proportion of the land and

¹ From the hundred years between the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty and that of the Twentieth we have several life-like descriptions of the difficulties under which the fields were tilled and of the manner in which the taxes were extracted at that time (Anast. V, 15, 6-17, 1 = Sall. I, 6, 1; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Bibl. Aeg., VII), pp. 64, 65; and Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (trans. Blackman), p. 193; Blackman and Peet, 'Papyrus Lansing: A Translation with Notes', in *JEA*, XI, pp. 289, 290). This was not a period of advancing, but of declining, prosperity. Hence one fears that the official's boast at Bilgai is evidence of brutal extortion rather than of good administration. He claims to have produced ten times the amount of the taxation for which his district was assessed, Gardiner in *ZAS*, L, pp. 51, 52. No doubt he gained much credit thereby, and no questions were asked. In Roman times the extortion of the fantastic taxes was evidently just as brutal, Lewis in *JEA*, XXIII, pp. 63-75. In the nineteenth century A.D. the methods of tax-collecting were the same as those of the Twentieth Dynasty and worse, Wainwright, in *JEA*, XXIV, pp. 63, 64. Even the throwing of the tax-payer into the canal survived till recently. In one of the Memphis villages the present writer knew a charming old man who had employed this means of persuasion. But by his time conditions had somewhat ameliorated and he had been unfortunate enough to lose his position of *Omdah*, because two of his victims had been so inconsiderate as to drown in the operation.

² In Roman times this flight had reached vast proportions, Lewis, *loc. cit.*, and it had done so again in the nineteenth century A.D., Wainwright, *loc. cit.*

its inhabitants is exempt from any taxation or duty to the State.¹ About a hundred years later the Demotic Chronicle of Paris tells us that Amasis had found it necessary to re-impose the taxation of the temples, and then in his third year Darius confirmed Amasis' arrangements.² The priests had evidently learned

¹ Using the figures of the Great Harris Papyrus and of the Census for 1902, Breasted computes that the temples in the Twentieth Dynasty probably owned over 15 per cent. of the land, *Anc. Rec.*, IV, § 167. On the other hand, with a clearer understanding of the meaning of the figures, Schaedel, *Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris*, p. 57, calculates that at this time 30 per cent. of the land and 15 to 20 per cent. of the population was attached to the temples. He reckons on the population then being about eight or nine millions. This seems excessive, for in the first century B.C. Diodorus, I, 31, 6, puts the number at seven millions, and a century later Agrippa says that the poll-tax figures showed it to be seven and a half millions, excluding Alexandria, Josephus, *Jewish War*, II, 16, 4, § 385. After a detailed study Wachsmuth concludes that this was probably about right, 'Die Ziffern der Bevölkerung Ägyptens', in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, III, pp. 272-280. The population has varied greatly. After the centuries of Mameluke and Turkish chaos an estimate of two and a half millions was made under Muhammad Aly in the early nineteenth century, E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1871), I, pp. 26 ff. Another estimate made in 1861 gave a total of nearly four millions, Schnepf in *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, I (1862), p. 531. Since then the population has increased by leaps and bounds, until it is now something just under fifteen millions. The belief that the temples owned one-third of the land is stated twice by Diodorus, I, 21, 7; 73, 2. There would be nothing improbable in such figures, for in England the monasteries are believed to have got hold of this proportion of the land by the time of their suppression, cf. *Cambridge Modern History*, II, p. 467. As is well known, the Church until then had formed an *imperium in imperio*. The system of exemption from duty to the State was still in force in Egypt in the nineteenth century A.D., when the great landowners kept their tenants at home, thus causing the whole burden of the corvée to fall on the rest of the population, Willcocks, *Egyptian Irrigation*, pp. 273, 279, 281, cf. pp. 285, 287, 288; A. Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, pp. 163, 164.

² Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik*, pp. 30-33. Three temples, those of Memphis, Hermopolis Parva (?), and Babylon (?) were exempted. Reich discusses some features of the papyrus, though not the question of taxation, in *Mizraim*, I, pp. 178-185. It should be noted that Darius did not decree that the tax-gatherers should take anything from the temples year by year. The terms of his decree saved much trouble, for they were simply that certain classes of income should no longer be paid to the temples but to the State. Hence, the diminished income which the temples still received would have continued free of State taxation. The legal position continued to be what it had been before, and what, four hundred and fifty years later, Diodorus, I, 73, 5, says it was in his time, i.e. that the temples paid no taxes, cf. also Hdts., II, 168. But the state of affairs at Teuzoi was evidently different from this.

nothing, and allowed the previous disaster to develop once again. By the ninth year of Darius, 512 B.C., the Teuzoi temple was bankrupt again and there was no stipend for one of the officials, and 'though it is (now) Pamenhotp, there is no corn (?) in the granary of Amûn, there is no silver in the chest of the temple. To seek (a loan of) silver (?) at interest to give to the *khre* of the . . . is the thing which we shall do from now (onward)', and the town was ruined, pp. 65, 66.

Once again it is quite evident that the paying away of part of their income to the absentee Pharaoh, instead of to an absentee priestly beneficiary, could not have ruined the temple and the town. It was that the priests, not being willing to forgo anything of their rents from their tenants or forgo anything of their income to the State, had merely caused a double payment to be made by the fellaheen. Thus, in due time they had again killed the goose that laid the golden eggs, and no doubt the fellaheen had once more 'departed away'.

Yet, needless to say, none of this deterred the priests from turning the situation to account in their feud against the Peteêsi family, and claiming that it was they who had ruined the town. It is of course in no way evident how a poor old man of no position, p. 66, a mere scribe in the temple, p. 66, could do so much damage, nor does Peteêsi's petition suggest that he had had anything to do with it.

One would like to know what it was that Peteêsi III divulged in that other document that he was forced to write at Hnês. He says that in it 'I wrote every thing that was done to ruin Teuzoi', p. 66. Unfortunately it has not come down to us, but it must have shown something very like the above suggestions, and have shown up the priests for rogues, or rather for selfish, obstinate fools. For Peteêsi III was too frightened of the priests to tell it, and on reading the statement his interrogator replied, 'I have learnt the fact that it is thou that wast correct (?) in (?) saying "If I tell thee the things that happen unto [it (Teuzoi ?)], these priests will slay me"',¹ as indeed, when they heard of it, they intended to do and practically did do, and not only him but all the other men of his family as well, p. 67.

¹ The quotation is Griffith's improvement of his original translation written into his own copy.

The outstanding feature of the story is the latent enmity of the priests which breaks out at any opportunity over a period of one hundred and fifty years. Though no doubt the origin of the priests' enmity was the exorbitant squeeze of the sixteen stipends which has been discussed above, there was yet another original cause which will be discussed below. But neither of these was the direct reason of each of the outbreaks. For instance, the cause of their final attack on the family when they burned down its house is fairly clear; it was no doubt the flogging that the priests got for ignoring four of the Governor's summonses. Though it was entirely their own fault, their attitude would have been, 'Ah-h-h Peteësi! *ibn el kelb*, son of the dog! Look what he has done to us! we must pay him back for this.' The line of argument that produces this result is that if Peteësi had not gone and complained to the Governor, we should not have been sent for, and we should not have got flogged. To the argument, 'But of course he complained, for you had almost killed him and his', they would have replied, 'But we only did that because he had attacked us in the statement he wrote at Hnês', although it was they who had made him do it, cf. p. 239, n. 1 *supra*, and p. 251 *infra*. Once a family feud has been started in Egypt it may last indefinitely, and flare out on any pretext, and before long all connexion with the original cause is lost. There is the famous one to-day in Mudiriyet Kena between two villages, whose names I can no longer remember. It has lasted for one hundred and fifty years in spite of the efforts of various mudîrs and others at reconciliation. After periods of quiescence it breaks out now and again just like the Peteësi feud.

From the document before us, this second cause of the origin of the feud can be clearly seen, if we carefully study the details and do not allow ourselves to be led astray by Peteësi III's tale of woe. In this way I think we shall find there was a flaw in the claim of the Peteësi family to the prophetship.

We have already seen the way in which Peteësi I had wrung from the temple twenty stipends instead of the legitimate four, pp. 235, 236, 237 *supra*. We now come to consider what appears to be a weakness in his claim to the prophetship. Peteësi I

himself seems to have been aware of this flaw, p. 91. It is noteworthy that neither Peteêsi I himself nor his cousin the local Governor seem in the beginning to have known anything about their family's claim to that office. Peteêsi I had to hear of it from the aged priest who with a shrine-opener was the only man left in the deserted temple at the time of the reorganization of the country under Psametik I, p. 80. Peteêsi immediately went over to the local Governor and told him all about it. A point of importance here may lie in the variation with which Peteêsi I reports the story. The old priest is supposed to have said, 'No man was priest here except the priests of Amenra'sentêr; but your ancestors were priests here'. But Peteêsi I simply reports it as 'No man was priest here except the priests of Amenra'sentêr', omitting all reference to the family. His cousin the local Governor, delving in his memory, replies to the effect, 'Oh, yes! I have heard of that before', and then begins to take action to re-establish the temple revenues, p. 80. But his enquiries from the priests do not touch upon the question of whether his family really had held the office there in earlier days.

This slight discrepancy may indicate the chance which Peteêsi I saw. It is true that his family belonged to Thebes, and that his ancestors had been, and his relatives still were, priests of some sort of Amenra'sentêr at Thebes, pp. 78, 97. It looks, therefore, as if the family had stretched a point in their own favour by taking it for granted that the Theban family of priests who had officiated at Teuzoi must have been their own. Anyhow, with the high positions the two cousins held they were able to make good their claim, fictitious or not. Consonant with such an idea is the undue haste with which Peteêsi I set up the granite stela recording the family's benefactions to the temple of Teuzoi. He did not even wait until he had been appointed prophet, pp. 81, 82, 91, and some hundred and five years later the priests used this fact to the detriment of his great-grandson, and of the family's claim on the prophetship, p. 103.

The papyrus is an *ex parte* statement showing up the crimes of the priests during one hundred and fifty years. What it does not intentionally show is that the Peteêsi family had given any

cause for the enmity they incurred. We have to find out that for ourselves. In fact Peteêsi III leads us very much astray with his tale of woe. To begin with he makes out his ancestor Peteêsi I to have been a paragon of virtue, but we have already seen, and shall see more, reason to believe that he was anything but that. When Peteêsi I retired from official life, Peteêsi III says that Pharaoh offered him various rewards, all of which he refused. Pharaoh is said to have asked whether he had not a son he would like to succeed him, and though he had at least three sons ¹ he declined to advance them. Pharaoh is supposed to have asked whether there was any property he would like, but no, he already has everything he could wish for, p. 86. While his having no need of any more property may be credible, his refusal of his chance to keep the inspectorship of Upper Egypt in the family certainly is not. Especially is this so since it is claimed that he had got his young first cousin once removed appointed to succeed as local Governor, p. 85. The way in which we are led astray by the document comes out clearly in the remark of Peteêsi I's son-in-law when he called the priests 'rascals', p. 86. This was before they had made any trouble, and, if it had any basis in fact, was probably due to objections they had already raised to paying away those extra sixteen stipends.

Anyhow, these rascals of priests made no trouble for another twelve years. Then after this lapse of time they refused to send Peteêsi I his fifth part of the temple revenues, and murdered his two grandsons who came to collect it for him, pp. 86, 87. For this outrage Peteêsi had to come all the way from Thebes to Teuzoi, where he was only able to capture and take off to be punished by Pharaoh two aged priests, p. 87. Yet he sent round the neighbouring nomes whither the rest had fled with their families, and had them brought back, pp. 88-90. As they were, not unnaturally, afraid to come right back to Teuzoi and completely within his grasp, he went to Hartai to forgive them and to persuade them to come back. To this end he swore to them

¹ P. 81, n. 8. This was in Psametik I's nineteenth year, and it might be that they were hardly grown up at the time, though two years later they were all serving as priests in the temple, pp. 45, 47. In any case there must have been young nephews and cousins available.

on oath, ' I will not cause a thing to be done unto you on account of a thing that is past ', p. 90. He re-instated them all with a threat or two, expressing his realization of the fact that sooner or later they would rob his family successfully, p. 91,¹ or in reality would be successful in getting back for themselves what he had robbed them of. Then he went back to Thebes where he was living and left them all to their own devices. It becomes evident that Peteêsi I was not the self-sacrificing kindly old man his descendant, Peteêsi III, would have us believe. He was on the contrary a very unpleasant character. He secured for himself five times as much revenue as he had a right to, and was quite ready to overlook the murder of his two grandsons, provided that he got back his full income. No doubt he was able to use the priests' ' mistake ' with regard to his grandsons as a threat to ensure their compliance with the re-imposition of his exactions. The probable flaw in his title may have had something to do with his contenting himself with securing the various stipends and saying little about the rest. Also of course he would have been anxious to get the temple going once more so that it would produce the necessary income.

Though the priests had objected very strongly to being robbed themselves, they had no compunction in robbing others as soon as they got their chance. Seventy-eight years later it is found that they had taken possession of the whole nine hundred and twenty-nine aruras of an island, in which only four hundred and eighty-four aruras rightfully belonged to them. They had, moreover, secured another one hundred and twenty aruras as well, pp. 99, 100. They rushed off to Court, and with the gift of the prophetship they paid a man to defend them before Pharaoh, but to Pharaoh's credit they lost their case, p. 102. It is all the sort of thing that the Unmerciful Servant would have done, Matt. xviii, 23-35.

We are now able to estimate at its true value, and see for the sickening hypocrisy it was, the well-sounding sentiments exchanged between the two cousins, Semtutefnakhti the local ruler and Peteêsi I the prophet of Amûn. Discussing the

¹ Though of course this may be his great-great-grandson, Peteêsi III the petitioner, emphasizing the course that events proved to have taken.

priests and their crimes, Semtutefnakhti sympathizes with his afflicted (?) cousin saying, ' I have heard the things that have been done unto thee by these outcasts (?) of evil men, scum (?) of men of Teuzoi, whom thou didst make rich ', but does not mention the fact that Peteêsi I had enriched himself very greatly at the expense of these same evil men and scum. Naturally nothing is said about this, for both of them are polite people, and it would be very rude to bring up ugly facts like that, even though it might help towards peace and even justice. Peteêsi I, full of righteous indignation and self-pity, replies, ' Hath not the detector of crime (?) heard that he who nurtures the wolf (?) shall die by it ? ', p. 87. He would have come nearer the mark if he had said something to the effect that ' he who pinches the wolf shall die by it '. The character of the conversation appears again in Semtutefnakhti's remark, ' Thy love that thou hadst to Teuzoi it hath not yet ceased '. But Peteêsi was going to get back his income. Yet nothing is said of that. It is on the contrary all put down to his uncrushable goodness and affection for a graceless town, p. 88. Again on p. 91, when forgiving the priests and insisting on the payment of all his stipends, Peteêsi keeps up the role of righteous man who had magnified Amûn.

Another case of this politeness is to be found in the other Semtutefnakhti's behaviour after he had taken a bribe to forsake his client, Peteêsi III, in favour of the priests. Externally he showed no sign of his change of patronage. But, confusing two issues, he hinted to the Governor that the priests had received some punishment and now they had better be dismissed, p. 68. But in the evening of the same day he still took Peteêsi to plead before the Governor, and next day gave him a sheet of papyrus and let him write out the whole long story. Then he told Peteêsi that he did not think it would be much use for him to bother the Governor further, as he had already dismissed the priests, and would hardly be likely to fetch them back again, p. 69. However, what he omitted to say was that it was he himself who had persuaded the Governor to dismiss them. Peteêsi was left to sense that in due time. Semtutefnakhti was still very urbane, and comforted him saying that he would write the priests a polite letter himself, and would get another man to

write a similar letter, and that these would be more effectual than any orders from the Governor. When the horrid truth began to dawn on poor Peteêsi, he broke down entirely, but he realized that he would have to make the best of what he could get, p. 70.

The upshot of it all proved to be that Semtutefnakhti had profited by a big bribe from the priests, and no doubt fees from Peteêsi. Moreover, everything would go on exactly as before, except that the priests were even more enraged against Peteêsi than they had been hitherto. The East overlooks the crookedness of this sort of thing and the utter demoralization it brings about, so long as it is covered over by an external suavity of manner. The one thing it cannot stand is any sort of abruptness.

It is extraordinary how steep could be the fall of a family. At the beginning, while the family held the local Governorship, we find Peteêsi I a very important man, favourite of Pharaoh, inspector of all Upper Egypt, reconstituting a temple, and extracting a large income from it, pp. 78, 79, 85, 86. His son and grandson succeeded him at the temple. But by that time the family had lost the local Governorship, there was no one to protect it, and Peteêsi's grandson was cast out of his office. After this the family became so unimportant that it could no longer stand before the other faction. The son of the man who had been cast out had to flee the town, p. 102, and in his exile the best he could do for his own son, Peteêsi III, was to get him taken on as an assistant clerk in the Treasury, p. 103. At the end of his life this Peteêsi III was described as nothing more than 'that scribe of the temple' which used to pay out one-fifth of its income to his ancestors. He was also told by a Government official ' [Thou wilt] be [made to tell it] unto me, for thou art not a man (of weight) ', p. 66.

Thus we see a family drop from the height of power and importance to a condition of mere nobodies, and it may always be that they had risen originally from that estate. Oriental history is full of such cases, and so are the stories in the Arabian Nights, which reflect true conditions. Thus, it was extremely interesting to see how my little carpenter in Shubra was quite happy sitting on the kerbstone gossiping endlessly with my own

servant and the others in the neighbourhood. On one occasion when my own man had to go into hospital the carpenter was glad to help by acting as servant to me for a few days. Yet, by origin he was what answered to a gentleman; Government school education, followed by a commission in the Egyptian Army. Thence he had been cashiered, for, having been reprimanded by his commanding officer one day on parade, he had replied with heat.

The appalling uncertainty of life comes out very clearly in a number of cases. Semtutefnakhti had supported Peteêsi III for seven months, and had almost succeeded in winning his case for him. Yet at the end he accepted a bribe from the priests and deserted him, and ruined his whole case for him, pp. 68-70. Although the decree had gone forth that the temples were no longer to be taxed, yet the Government officials continued to collect these taxes. Had they ceased to provide that amount of taxes until someone prevented them, they would no doubt have been in trouble with their own superiors. It is always as well to have some surplus money in hand. As it was, they got a severe flogging from the man who happened to have become interested in the temple for private family reasons, and therefore implemented the new law, p. 80.¹ After murdering Peteêsi I's two grandsons the priests with their families, and apparently everyone else, had fled from Teuzoi, p. 90. Peteêsi could only find two aged priests and one shrine-opener. It is highly improbable that they had had anything to do with the murder, owing both to their age and to the fact that they risked stopping on in the town. Nevertheless, Peteêsi had them seized, taken off to Pharaoh, and punished, p. 87. The Master of the Shipping obliged his cousin, Peteêsi I, by giving him a veritable *lettre de cachet*. On Peteêsi putting his agent under his protection the Master of the Shipping said to him that any man who was obnoxious to him 'let him be brought to me that I may cause him to die in the prison in Hnês', p. 88. Again, the youths had murdered Peteêsi's grandsons on instructions from the priests. Yet when it came to the point the priests made no attempt to

¹ It would be interesting to know how energetic he had been in the affairs of the other great temples in his jurisdiction.

protect them, but in order to save themselves calmly offered to deliver them up to Peteêsi, saying, ' These youths who left the path, let his Honour cause them to be brought, let them be cast into a furnace ', p. 91. Peteêsi I had extorted too much from the priests, and they lay in wait for the family for three generations until at last their chance came in the time of his grandson, p. 96. They persuaded Peteêsi II to go abroad on an official mission with Pharaoh, and on his return he found that they had got him deprived of his office and that his successor was already installed, p. 97.

Such being the condition of affairs, it is not surprising that the country was very unsettled. Owing to the weight of the taxes the people had ' departed away ' from Teuzoi and left the place deserted in the eighth century B.C., p. 80. By the end of the sixth century B.C. the bankruptcy of the temple, pp. 65, 66, suggests that the same situation was materializing again. Anyhow, it is exactly what happened in Ptolemaic and Roman times, and again in the nineteenth century A.D., and no doubt at other periods of misrule also.¹ After having murdered Peteêsi I's two grandsons the priests fled from Teuzoi apparently accompanied by all the inhabitants, p. 87. They had scattered throughout the nomes of Pemze and Hartai, and even as far away as Khmûn (Hermopolis), pp. 88-90. Similarly, three generations later the whole Peteêsi family fled to Khmûn and lived there, when it no longer dared to stay in Teuzoi, p. 102. Then, after having destroyed the Peteêsi house and temple-place, the leader of the riot thought it best to make himself scarce. He, therefore, went off to Buto at the northern fringe of the Delta, p. 104.

Besides all this it is extraordinary how much travelling was done up and down the country by private people apart from official inspectors and messengers. Peteêsi I came from the capital to Teuzoi and thence went to Thebes, p. 86. Haruoz went up to Thebes, and Peteêsi I and his family all came back to Teuzoi, and thence Peteêsi went to the capital (Memphis or Sais), and thence back again to Hnês, p. 87, and then on to Teuzoi, p. 88. Finally, he went all the way back to Thebes. Peteêsi II went down to the capital from Teuzoi, and then up to

¹ Lewis in *JEA*, XXIII, pp. 63-75; Wainwright in *Id.*, XXIV, pp. 63, 64.

Thebes, p. 97, and back again to Teuzoi, p. 98. The priests went off to Memphis, p. 100, and Nekumosi happened to be there also, p. 101. Khelkhons' brother came to Teuzoi (from Buto (?), p. 104), p. 102. Peteêsi III went from Memphis to Hnês, crossed to Teuzoi, and back again to Hnês, p. 104. Then he went up to Khmûn and brought his family back to Teuzoi, p. 105. He went down to Memphis, p. 68, and back, p. 70. He was met by other travellers going north and turned back to Memphis, a messenger was sent to bring the accused to Memphis, and then both he and Peteêsi II went back to Teuzoi, p. 70. As for running backwards and forwards between Teuzoi and Hnês, the capital of the nome, no one seemed to think anything of that, although Hnês is a long way north of Teuzoi and a long way back from the Nile.

The excuse is delightful that the *le-shoni* gave for decamping when orders were sent to arrest the men who had destroyed the house and temple-place. He went all the way to Buto in the northern Delta, not to escape justice be it observed, but to mourn for the father of the man whom the priests had set up as prophet, p. 104, cf. p. 102. It is even flimsier than the proverbial funeral of his grandmother that the office-boy has to attend when he wants to go to a football match.

In Peteêsi's petition we see pluralism and absenteeism still rampant. Peteêsi I got his stipends for twenty-seven years though living at Thebes, p. 86, and no doubt he duly got them from his other priesthoods which were scattered throughout the country, p. 83. His cousin, the Master of the Shipping, held priesthoods in several different towns, p. 78. It is not clear whether Ptahnûfi and his son Nekumosi came to live at Teuzoi when they filled the office of prophet, but it was at Memphis that the priests found Nekumosi, p. 101. Psammetkmenempe, the new prophet, did not come to Teuzoi, 'but what he did was to send men to fetch his property' for twenty-nine years, p. 105. He was probably living at Buto, p. 100, cf. p. 104, or of course possibly at the capital, Memphis. Though his brother, Khelkhons, was 'priest of Hôr in Puto', yet he was Pharaoh's favourite at Court, p. 100. At the end of the story Ahmosi was an absentee, for he had to come to Teuzoi from the

Upper Country to know what had happened to his stipend, p. 65.

The way in which high officials held priesthoods all over the country had always been one of the remarkable things about Egypt. They must have been absentees from most of them, and one presumes that the temple services were conducted by vicars. Certainly this is what happened at Teuzoi, where Peteêsi I appointed his son-in-law, Haruoz, as his vicar to 'perform service to Amûn and his Ennead of deities' and to collect his stipends for him when he went to live at Thebes, p. 84. As he was living there Peteêsi I was also an absentee from all his other priesthoods except that of Amon-re' at Thebes. The others whose duties he could not have carried out personally were priesthoods of Harshefi no doubt at Hnês-Heracleopolis, of Sobk in the Fayyum, of Osiris at Abydos, of Anhûr at Thinis, and of Min no doubt either at Akhmim or Koptos, p. 83. Similarly, Peteêsi's cousin, the Master of the Shipping, was priest of Amûn and priest of Sobk. His other priesthood was that of Harshefi, but as that would have been at Hnês, where he was living, he could have carried out the duties in person when he was not travelling up and down the country, p. 78. At the other end of Egyptian history, in Snefru's reign, Neferma'at is as good an example of this pluralism and absenteeism as any. He evidently lived somewhere near Meydûm, where he was buried. Yet he was priest of Bastet, presumably at Bubastis; priest of the Ram of Mendes; high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis, or perhaps as Junker supposes at Heliopolis;¹ high priest of Min at Koptos; priest of Šsm̄tt,² whose sanctuary was with little doubt at Saft el-Henneh, not far from Bubastis.³

In Egypt things go on satisfactorily until it occurs to someone that he can benefit himself by upsetting them. Peteêsi's story shows that the stipends were safely delivered to such absentees, however far away they lived, so long as they were powerful enough for it to be too dangerous for anyone to stop them. No doubt Neferma'at got his safely, for he was 'eldest son of the king',⁴ as would his son Hm-'iwnw probably.

¹ Junker, *Giza*, I, p. 149, no. 15.

² Petrie, *Medum*, Pls. xvi, xx, xxi.

³ Newberry, in *Griffith Studies*, pp. 319, 322.

⁴ Petrie, *Medum*, Pl. xvi.

Drunkenness seems to have been terribly common in ancient Egypt, and that is a thing that Islam has entirely stamped out. 'Peteësi spent the day in drinking beer with his women and children and with Haruoz son of Peftu'ubasti', p. 84. Later on at 'the festival of Pshoü, every one that was in Teuzoi was drinking beer, and the warders who were guarding us drank beer and went to sleep. (Then) Zeubestef'onkh son of Ienharoü (i.e. one of the prisoners) departed. (When) the warders awoke they found not Zeubestef'onkh, and the warders who were guarding us departed', p. 67. Griffith rightly recalls the similar stories of the drunkenness of the guards in the stories of Rhampsinitus and of Phanes. He might have added that of the guards in Diodorus', I, 57, version of the Sesostris story. Tethmosy III tells us at the end of his fifth campaign that it had been so profitable that 'the army of his majesty was drunk and anointed with oil every day as at a feast in Egypt'.¹ An illuminating bit of information as to conditions at festivals! Elsewhere, in the Twentieth Dynasty, one of the pleasures of a fine house is said to be that 'one is drunken in its courts'.² The evil results of drunkenness are reprobated in the Nineteenth Dynasty,³ and Erman and Ranke have collected a great deal of information on this subject in their *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 288, 289.

Peteësi's story shows that the ill-nature which is still so terribly widespread in the country is no new thing. In this case a Government official had a grudge against another man. He went round the nomes enquiring whether this other man had not some property there, through which damage could be done to him. He knew, of course, very well that sooner or later he would find some questionable transaction, which it would give him the greatest pleasure to drag out to the light. He found one at Teuzoi. The official was quite open about his malevolence. At Teuzoi he found a man who was quite willing to help him, and said, 'There is no *s'anaḫh* belonging to (?) Harmakher son

¹ Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, II, § 462.

² Blackman and Peet, 'Papyrus Lansing: A Translation with Notes', in *JEA*, XI, p. 294.

³ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* (Third Series), I, Text, p. 20.

of Ptahertais in this nome. But if the Superintendent of Farmland desires to cause a mischief to be done to Harmakher I can cause a thing to be done to him for which he will be more ardent (?) than for his *s'anakh*', p. 99. Then he proceeded to tell about the priests having appropriated the whole of the island, whereas only half of it belonged to them by rights. Infinite trouble ensued, lawsuits, bribery, etc., and in the long run justice was done, and the land the priests had unlawfully been occupying was taken away from them. But judgment was not brought upon them out of a sense of justice, but of a desire to damage quite another party, who would feel the unpleasant effects.

It is evident that the law of the land was definite, and well administered, when bribery did not come into play. Peteêsi II failed to get custom to override the law in his attempt to get back the prophetship, p. 97. Pharaoh's favourite, Khelkhons, failed to get back for the priests the land they had unjustly occupied, though he got them the same amount of land elsewhere. He also got back for them the harvest which had been confiscated, p. 102. Khelkhons' brother was able to get a legal opinion on the validity of his claim to the prophetship, p. 102.

But unfortunately already in those days the law was leaden-footed; *el hūkūmah a'rag* 'the Government is lame', as the expression is to-day. Quite apart from mere bribery or intrigues we have several instances of the delays that were put in the way of justice. They are still common in Egypt to-day, where the difficulty of collecting the people concerned in a case is one of the chief causes of the endless dragging out of lawsuits. The Governor in Memphis sent for the priests, and one would have thought that a summons from the highest authority in the land would have been obeyed instantly. But no, the Governor has to send five times before the priests begin to feel that things are getting too serious to be ignored any longer, p. 68. Another habit which defeats the working of justice is still for the accused to deny everything, and to accuse people who are absent and cannot be found. This happened at Teuzoi, for the leader of the riot, the *le-shoni*, had decamped, and the priests accused their prophet of having done the damage, p. 104. He lived at Buto, well away in the Delta, p. 100 and cf. p. 105, at a safe distance

from Teuzoi, and moreover, being the brother of Pharaoh's favourite, was not a man who could be easily punished. The procrastination of Ahmosi is true to life. He 'spent several days, saying, "I am going south with thee"'. But he did not go, and finally sent 'a blind (?) man' to arrest the priests. The priests bribed this man with five *k̄iti* of silver, and so he only brought the *le-shoni*, p. 70, and the *le-shoni* probably only came because Ahmosi was his patron through whom he had been appointed, p. 67.

The fact that there were properly constituted law-courts and that the law was fairly well administered makes it the more extraordinary that Pharaoh and the Governor of the country in Memphis were willing to be worried by everyone who wanted justice. Peteêsi I took the two old priests to Pharaoh to get them punished, p. 87. Similarly, it was to Pharaoh himself that the priests took their complaint against the Superintendent of Farmland, pp. 100-102. Peteêsi III pleaded his case against the priests before the Governor in Memphis, p. 68, and it was to the Governor again that he went back the second time, p. 70. Peteêsi II was in a different category, for he had a perfectly good reason for applying to Pharaoh as has been seen on p. 239 *supra*. Why were not all these plaintiffs referred to the law-courts?

An interesting detail of the modernity of the story is the way in which the official journeys up and down the country were used for one's own private business. Thus, Peteêsi I inspected Elephantiné officially and took the opportunity to place an order for a stela and two blocks of stone for statues, p. 81. It was on one of his inspections in the nome of Pemze (*Oxyrhynchus*) that he found the man he made his son-in-law and agent, p. 82. Much later the Superintendent of Farmland used his official inspection of the nome of Hnês (*Heracleopolis*) to ferret out the misdeeds of a private enemy whom he wished to injure, p. 99.

This private use of official opportunities goes on everywhere in Egypt to-day, even down to so small a transaction as the trade in *k̄ullahs* carried on by the guard of the north-bound Luxor-Cairo express. At the station of K̄ena he takes in a number of these bottles, which, as one of them quite truthfully explained to

the present writer, can be bought very cheaply there but are very expensive in Cairo. Another case is that of Peteêsi III's being put into the Treasury. He did not go in with a view to doing his duty or even earning a living for himself. He had been put there for the express purpose of ingratiating himself with someone in authority and then pestering him with his private affairs, p. 103. This is still one of the troubles of life in Egypt, where probably everyone at some time or another has been plagued with the attempts of his subordinates to embroil him in their private quarrels. On one occasion I was induced to see the mudîr of the province about a patch of land out of which one of my men was being swindled. The mudîr was kindness itself; telephoned to the omdah of the village, who assured him that no one was oppressing the man in question. Even after my return to England the mudîr had the kindness to write to me 'that Fulani was happy in his village, no one oppressing'. But Fulani lost his patch of land all the same. How very like Peteêsi III and the priests! 'And Ahmosi the prophet of Hôr caused Ienharouï son of Petehapi to swear to me, saying, "I will go and right thee in every matter of thine". . . But I was not (truly) righted; (nay) I was taking people to them to cause them to be reconciled to me', p. 70.

The description of Khelkhons as 'a man who petitioneth (?) Per'o (even) in the closet', p. 100, is reminiscent of innumerable troubles upon which one has had to adjudicate. While never having been petitioned in the closet, one has before now been awakened about dawn by the petitioners sitting outside one's bedroom window and loudly continuing the arguments of the previous day.

There is a familiar ring about Peteêsi I's recommendation to Pharaoh of his young first cousin once removed. He says that he is 'a marvel of a man exceedingly' and that 'Per'o will find that he is a marvel of a man'. On being questioned the nobles all agreed, no doubt because they were afraid to do otherwise, or because such an answer had been 'arranged' for. They also said, 'he is a marvel of a man', p. 85. One is completely helpless in such a situation, but still, hoping that the 'marvel' will prove to be no worse than anyone else, one agrees to his

appointment. The recommendation to-day runs, ' I know a nice fellow ; he is a good man, Sir ', but omits to state that he is the recommender's nephew or cousin. An extraordinary thing is that anyone is quite prepared to fill any position that comes his way, whether he has any qualification for it or not. Then, if he fails too hopelessly, he is not the least ashamed but reproaches you for having put him there.

It is always necessary to get someone to recommend an applicant. When the priests had heard that Khelkhons was the best man to plead their cause, they did not go to him direct. They got a friend to go to his friend, Khelkhons' eunuch. He proved willing, no doubt for a consideration, to hear their suggestions, and he in his turn put them forward to Khelkhons. No doubt it is better so, for Khelkhons was able to refuse their offer and to insist on more and also on payment in advance, p. 100, while at the same time keeping up that external politeness which is so necessary. In the same way when Peteësi III wanted the Superintendent of the Treasury (?) to write a letter on his behalf, he did not go to him direct, but got his chief, Imhotep, to go for him, p. 103.

Haruo had his papers by which he was able to establish his identity, pp. 83, 84, just like any modern fellah. In fact it is owing to the habit of the families keeping their documents that we owe the papyrus at present under discussion. In actuality it is extraordinary that any of them have survived, seeing the way in which they are often found stuffed into holes under the tread of the stairs, in the wall, or elsewhere. In modern Egypt there being no safes or safe deposits this is often done still. Sometimes a brick is taken out, the valuables put in behind it and the whole plastered over again. I met one unfortunate from Bîbah who had come to Cairo over such a disaster. He had sold some land for £E50, and had been paid with five £E10 notes. These he had rolled up and had poked into a convenient hole in the wall, but unfortunately a mouse owned that hole, and during the night it nibbled its way out right through the middle of the obstructing roll of paper. Next morning there remained of the £E50 nothing but a handful of tiny scraps of paper, of which only one was recognizable as having formed part of a

£E10 note. The Bank was good enough to accept the man's story and to pay him for that one.

We have already noted, p. 253, *supra*, the polite manner of well-bred people in not mentioning each other's dubious proceedings, but in sympathizing with each other on the misfortunes which their actions have brought upon them. We have also noted the gradual way in which the man who had sold Peteêsi III let it become apparent that he had abandoned him. The way in which Peteêsi I gracefully refused Pharaoh's offers is completely modern. Pharaoh asked whether Peteêsi had a son he would like to succeed him. Peteêsi did not decline the offer outright, but indicated that he had no wish to accept it in the words, 'Many are the servants of Per'o who shall be able to administer; they will administer, etc., etc.'. Pharaoh then offered to enrich him, his refusal of which Peteêsi indicated by saying, 'May Per'o be enriched! There is no good thing that Per'o hath not caused to be done unto me'; p. 86. This last is especially in the Arabic manner of acknowledging a courtesy by returning the same to the well-wisher. Some examples of this are *waḥashtina*, 'You have made us lonely (by your absence)', to which the reply is *Allah la yehush minak*, 'May Allah not make us lonely through you'; *hinyan*, 'May you be pleased', to which one answers *Allah yuhinnik*, 'May Allah cause you to be pleased'; best known of all is the salutation *es-salām* '*aleykum*', 'Peace be upon you', on which the reply improves in the words, '*aleykum es salām wa rahmet Allah wa barakātuh*', 'Upon you be peace and the mercy of Allah and his blessings'.

Similarly, entirely Arabic is the manner in which Haruoz thanked Peteêsi I, 'And Haruoz blessed (him) and said, "It is well"', p. 83. This is the regular Arabic *ṭaiyib*; *ḡattar khēraḡ* [*Allah*], which is not thanks but approval and a blessing, 'Good; may Allah increase your prosperity'. In fact it is Semitic, for the Hebrews also returned thanks, even to Jehovah, by blessing the donor, as in Deut. viii, 10, 'When thou hast eaten and art full, then shalt thou bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee', or in Psalm c, 4, 'be thankful unto him and bless his name'.

Again, how often has one heard the expressions of devotion

used by the Chief of Police, p. 88. He said, 'Is not his Honour he that hath nurtured us?' To-day it is *ḡullu shē yigi min ganābak*; *nāḡul 'eysh min īd ganābak*, 'Everything comes from your Honour; we eat bread from your Honour's hand'. The Chief of Police continued, 'If his Honour say to me, "Come even unto Ne", can I refuse to come?'. The modern version runs *wallāhi, izāḡan ganābak tib'at li, aḡiḡ liḡadd Maṣr*, and then to a foreigner like myself there is added *liḡaddi bilādaḡ*, 'By Allah, if your Honour send for me, I will come to you as far as Cairo—as far as your own country'.

Other modern turns of expression are to be found. Griffith has already noted that the expression, 'slew me (*sic*) with beating', p. 67, and n. 11, is still a common hyperbole in Egypt to-day. Curiously enough it is also a Hibernianism. When the Irishman makes such a remark as 'Och, Sorr, ye have me intoirly killt', he only means that he is tired out after an exhausting expedition.¹ Peteësi III not being satisfied with the punishment of fifty lashes meted out to the priests refers to them as 'these two strokes of the lash', p. 69. To-day 'two' is still the standard expression of an unimportant number, *mafish illa ḡurbāḡeyn, barghūteyn, darbateyn turyah*, etc. 'Nothing but a couple of lashes, a couple of fleas, a couple of hacks with the *turyah* (hoe)', etc., etc., as the case may be. Elsewhere we read that 'the Superintendent of the Treasury (?) spake a good word to him', p. 103, just as an effendi will tell you to-day that 'He spoke good words to me' or 'bad words' as the case may be.

The northerner's modern terror of the south with the accompanying disparagement of it, which is so well known to-day, is apparent in our papyrus. The use of the term 'Southerner' is much more than a definition of the people's dwelling-place, which is all that Griffith intimates, p. 86, n. 6.

¹ This is clearly another example of the Hamitic mode of expression so characteristic of the Welsh and Irish languages. It no doubt originates in the pre-Celtic population of these lands. For a detailed study showing the identity of the non-Aryan syntax of these languages with that of Egyptian, see John Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People* (1902), 617-641, Appendix B, and cf. pp. 19, 22, 23. The 'have' in the sentence quoted is used, not as part of the present perfect tense, but in the colloquial sense that you 'have got me into the state of being—'.

It is a definite disparagement from a safe distance. Thus, in contemptuously rejecting the offer of the men of Teuzoi, the inhabitant of Memphis speaks of them as 'These southerners', p. 100. In their turn, when the priests at Teuzoi are tired of paying out far too much to Peteêsi I, they refer to him as 'this outcast (?) of a southerner', p. 86, because he was of Theban origin and lived at Thebes. The terror of the Upper Country was already ancient in the sixth century B.C., for Sinuhe says of a misfortune that it is 'as if' in a dream 'a man of the Delta should see himself in Elephantiné, a man of the Swamps in Nubia'.¹ With the extension of geographical knowledge the horror is to-day extended to the Sudan, and no greater misfortune can be imagined than to be sent up there on duty—to a country inhabited by Niam-niam, cannibals. No doubt the innate feeling was greatly strengthened in the nineteenth century by the tearing away of sons and brothers from their families. They were put into the army and drafted up to the Sudan with no sort of organization, and the family was lucky if it ever saw them again.

As well as being afraid of the Upper Country the northerner also jeers at the southerner's speech, though for this he has no good reason. The Sa'îdi's speech is fuller and rounder, and his pronunciation of the *ج* is nearer to that of Arabia than is the gasp of the Cairene. He also normally uses many classical words now employed only by the educated in Cairo. Mr. Smither has kindly reminded me that in Rameses II's time the Delta and Elephantiné did not speak the same dialect.² Did the northerner of those days ridicule the southerner's 'confusing' speech?

The northerner's ignorance of Upper Egypt is abysmal. An effendi in the train soon discovered by my speech that I belonged to the Sa'îd, the Upper Country. Not to be outdone, he said, 'And I also have been to the Sa'îd—to its very end'. To the question, 'How far is that?' he replied, in all seriousness, 'As far as Wasta!' Yet on reaching Wasta the traveller has only covered fifty-seven of the five hundred and fifty miles which

¹ A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 34, ll. 225-226.

² Gardiner, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, Anastasi, I, l. 28, 6.

separate Cairo from Aswan at the southern end of the Sa'id! Wasta is a long way north of Teuzoi, so that this effendi, like his predecessor at Memphis, would have called the men of Teuzoi 'These southerners'.

A half patronizing, half chaffing, mode of address to a small southern boy by a northerner is *ya Sa'idi, ya sughaiyar*, 'Oh Southerner, Oh Little One'. Though the northerner would not dare to address a full-grown man as *ya Sa'idi*, he would certainly refer to him as such in conversation with other northerners.

This deep-seated aversion may be founded in jealousy, for the Sa'idi is a much finer man than the northerner, handsomer, better built, better dressed, cleaner, and altogether with more of an air about him. The southerner returns the contempt and with more reason. He says, 'Our blood is red, but theirs (the northerners) is only yellow'.

The following is an extraordinarily interesting and life-like scene. The Peteësi family's house had been destroyed for the first time and looted, their temple-place destroyed, and the chief culprit had decamped. The affair was finally referred to the Sheykh of Hnês, and he proved to be a good old soul. He explained to Peteësi III that it was no good going to law, for Khelkhons, whose brother had been appointed one of themselves by the priests, would stand by them. It would be much better to forgo any thoughts of punishment but to make an amicable settlement. He undertook the task of go-between himself, and privately agreed with Peteësi that ten pieces of silver would cover the damage done to the house. Then the battle was joined and the bargaining began. It is a passage well worth reading, p. 105. The Sheykh went to the priests and suggested that they should pay twenty pieces of silver. But of course they expressed the utmost indignation at such an idea and 'they cried aloud, saying, "We cannot give him five pieces of silver"'. Peteësi then joined in, swearing that they had carried off ten pieces of silver's worth of beams and binding, and had spoilt another twenty pieces worth of stone-work. The Sheykh then frightened the priests with legal proceedings, saying that, if it came to that, 'fifty pieces of silver shall not bring you out. Let ten pieces be given to him and I will make him forgive you

the other ten pieces'. In the end it was arranged for the ten pieces that the Sheykh and Peteêsi expected to get, and the priests gave one piece of silver to the messenger who had brought the orders for their arrest. Characteristically enough Peteêsi had to allow them to swear to him that they had not done any damage to his house in spite of the fact that they had been willing to pay him compensation. Peteêsi was no doubt metaphorically, and probably actually, patted on the back, and the priests told that he was a 'good man' in not being too hard on them. Peteêsi in his turn was no doubt told that the priests were 'good men' in being prepared to pay all that money for their 'mistake', and everyone except Peteêsi and the priests felt that a 'good day's work had been accomplished and that peace had been restored.

Another detail that is still true to life is the Sheykh's friendly action in taking Peteêsi's hand, while putting forward his solution of the difficulty. Yet another is his remark, 'I love thee more than these priests', which is exactly the Arabic, *aḥebbak inta ziyādah 'anhum*, 'I love thee more than them'.

In the ninth year of Darius Peteêsi III was put to the minor torture of being stretched out in the sun, p. 66. This is still a common punishment in Persia, often with a weight on the victim's chest, but I have not heard of its being done in Egypt except in this case. Was it a Persian idea? There was of course more in Peteêsi's submitting to this torture than mere obstinacy. He would then be able to plead with the priests afterwards, when they prepared to take vengeance on him for having spoken, that he had had no wish to damage them but had had to submit to *force majeure*, cf. p. 66, n. 9 and p. 67. Similarly, one should note the way in which the witness was browbeaten in the hope of driving him into giving evidence. In examining Peteêsi III Ahmosi began quite politely, but soon took up an accusing, threatening, attitude in the hopes of making him say something in self-defence. Ahmosi accused him in the words, 'It is thou that art [ruin?]ing the town more than the men who ruin it', and says that he will be made to tell because he is not a man of weight, p. 66. This is exactly the way a fellah is dealt with to-day.

There are several more pictures that one can see so well in the mind's eye. One is that of the youths whom the priests put

to guard the heap of corn and to drive off Peteësi I's grandsons, p. 86. They slept on top of the pile and hid their staves, i.e. the modern *nebbut*, in it, both of which are done to-day. Also when the youths had done their work so thoroughly that they had killed the boys, we may be sure that the priests reproached them in some such words as 'Did we tell you to kill them!'

Then again, there are the scenes in which one man takes the hand of another. In introducing his agent Peteësi I 'took the hand of Haruoz and brought him before the Master of the Shipping', p. 88. Later on 'Peteësi [I] took the hand of the Chief of Police and took him into the dromos (?) of Amûn', p. 88. This friendly confidential action has just been seen when the Sheykh of Hnês persuaded Peteësi III to content himself with payment for damage done rather than insist on punishment for the offenders. In like circumstances people still take the other man's hand when being very persuasive and emphatic. Men also take each other's hand merely as a result of friendship. One continually sees two friends walking hand in hand in the streets and public gardens of Cairo. Peteësi I also probably held the hand of the Chief of Police again when 'he bound himself by oath before him', p. 88, just as 'the hand of the priests was taken for the ten pieces of silver, they made the oath to me, etc.', p. 105. This of course had, and has, a different significance from the previous cases just quoted.

Another interesting detail is the statement, 'we caused bricks to be moulded, and our house to be built. They finished (?) its street front (?) and we dwelt in it', p. 105. In his own copy Griffith has corrected 'street front' to 'lower storey', so that Peteësi III did exactly what is done to-day in every town and village of Egypt. A man starts building as soon as he has saved up a little money and lives in that part which has been built, while he saves up a little more with which to carry the process a little further. An example of this which might be seen by any one was for many long years, and still may be, one of the houses just outside Cairo railway station on the east side of Nubar Pasha Street. In its lower stories it was a large handsome house, but it was crowned with empty spaces through which one saw the sky above, as that storey was neither glazed nor roofed.

Another picture of what might be enacted any day in any village is the complete ignoring of Hôr, son of Psammetkmenempe, by the priests when they had no intention of installing him in his father's office. 'Hôr son of Psammetkmenempe, the prophet of Amûn, came to Teuzoi, and stood with the priests: but they spake not with him as to any man on earth, and they did not let rations (?) be taken to him. They went to Pshenah son of Ienharoü, the brother of Harkhebuesikem, and wrote him the title to the share of the prophet of Amûn of Teuzoi', p. 105. It must be a most painful experience to be so completely cold-shouldered, and a most convincing proof that your candidature is not acceptable. As with the driving away of Peteêsi's grandsons, Egypt does this sort of thing thoroughly.

Again there is the scene of the priests crowding the street outside the house where Peteêsi III was writing his history of the case. They had been flogged for ignoring the Governor's summonses and then dismissed, so that Peteêsi's case against them was ruined. Seeing that they had thus cheaply disposed of him they came there to ridicule him publicly. They pointed out that he need not think that he had gained anything, for it was not on his account that they had been punished. How they must have enjoyed his calm reply promising them far worse punishment to come, for they knew what he did not, that the affair was finished, p. 69.

A modern custom which has come right through from ancient Egypt is the sealing of documents instead of signing them. The custom is no doubt due to the fact that the vast majority of the nation was, and is, illiterate. However, Peteêsi III was literate as was Ahmosi, for the one wrote the document at Hnês and the other read it, p. 66, yet ' (Then) he sealed the papyrus, he caused me to seal it with him ', p. 67. A special virtue is ascribed to the seal to-day. Some years ago in Cairo a lawsuit turned on the point that a door had only been locked instead of being sealed. This was held by the court to constitute negligence, in spite of the protest that it was less easy to break open a properly locked door than one that was only secured by a strip of calico and some sealing wax. Seals, however, might be forged or stolen, hence, although contracts were called *h̄tm.t*, 'sealed things', they were secured in safer but much more laborious

fashion. Instead of being sealed they were attested by a number of witnesses, each of whom made out and kept a copy, as may be seen on pp. 44-48. The normal number of witnesses was fifteen or sixteen.

In Peteêsi III's time, just as to-day, someone was generally kind enough to report anything that might concern you. 'A man came to Essemteu, saying, "They are coming unto thee to make thee write a title, etc., etc.", and so, being forewarned, Essemteu was able to forestall the priests by his flight', p. 102. Even when he was right away at Khmûn he still 'heard everything that the priests had done to him in Teuzoi', p. 103. Unfortunately, being a stranger in Memphis there was no one to tell him of Semtutefnakhti's betrayal of him, p. 69. His hearing of the burning of his house was in another category. That was due to a chance meeting with friends, p. 70.

We have seen in our own time how amazingly a few years of good government enables Egypt to recover from misery and bankruptcy, and to become one of the rich countries of the world. Peteêsi III gives an idea of the speed with which this same happy state of affairs came about under Psametik I's reorganization of the country. In this king's fourth year the prosperity increased by a half, p. 79; in his fifteenth year it was doubled, p. 83; in his eighteenth year it is said that the silver and spelt had been added to yearly, p. 85; in his nineteenth year the account of the land was good, p. 85. But alas! Peteêsi also shows us the speed with which the relapse may come. We have seen, p. 248, *supra*, that within a hundred and fifty years conditions had fallen back again into the chaos and bankruptcy from which Psametik I had rescued them. This sequence of a new efficiency and force in the administration resulting in increased prosperity and then a steady and progressive decline is characteristic of Egyptian history. Before Peteêsi's time it is visible in the Old Kingdom, in the Middle Kingdom, and in the New Kingdom, and after Peteêsi's time Mr. Bell has remarked it all through the Ptolemaic, Roman-Byzantine, and Arab periods.¹ In his booklet, *The Revolutions of Civilisation*, Professor Sir Flinders Petrie showed many years ago how this state of affairs is reflected in the arts and crafts of the country.

¹ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXVII, p. 176.

